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SHARON MILLER

HOME: Salmon, Idaho

AGE: 36

PROFESSION: White-water guide

HOBBIES: Skiing, kayaking, horseback riding, yoga.

MOST MEMORABLE BOOK:
"Thomas Wolfe's Letters to His Mother"

LAST ACCOMPLISHMENT: Became
a certified ski instructor.

QUOTE: "The challenge of white water presents ever-changing situations that demand instant, precise decisions. The implications reach far into everyday life. It's a very literal case of 'he who hesitates is lost'."

PROFILE: Vibrant in her love for life and its intrigue. She exudes this enthusiasm in her work, giving others a special awareness and a true appreciation of nature.

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Popular Photography
July, 1976

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camera
July, 1976

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Here is TIME's special editorial force for the 1976 election, a group consisting of the regular Nation section editors, writers and reporter-researchers reinforced by members of several other departments of the magazine, plus art, picture and copy desk staffers. Working through Election Night, with reports from dozens of TIME correspondents, they produced this week's special election section—the longest, most comprehensive in TIME's history.

The Cover: Photograph by Arnold Newman.



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FORUM

Viva King Kong!

To the Editors:
I must pronounce a blessing on Dino De Laurentiis for allowing an old Kongophile the chance to view the second coming of the King [Oct. 25].

Lindsey Jackson
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

It seems to me that with all these "creative geniuses" involved with the movie business, someone could manage to come up with a plot just slightly new or different.

For the past few years, the movies have been remakes and remakes. Are



you telling us all the real moviemakers live in the '30s? I'm beginning to believe it.

Bill Wilson
Catsonsville, Md.

King Kong is alive and well and playing in the National Football League under many different aliases. He's been doing it for years.

William E. Carsley
Chicago

Although I am a student majoring in psychology, I am certain that other TIME readers can discern the psychosexual motives evident in the newly resurrected King Kong.

The way you depicted the upcoming movie is intriguing insofar as it suggests that the libidinous instincts of man may indeed be traced back through the evolutionary process.

Joseph F. Hurley
Williamstown, Mass.

Listening to Dino De Laurentiis, one gets the distinct impression that this master of sensationalistic tripe would remake Michelangelo's David and build it 500 ft. tall if he thought there were a buck to be made. The late Willis

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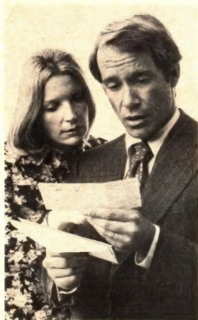
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O'Brien, who expressively animated the original King Kong, must be turning in his grave.

Jeff Rovin
Philadelphia

The new Kong has to be the most lovable monster any Italian ever produced, mechanical or otherwise.

My suggestion is that after gleaning millions of dollars from American moviegoers, the beast be deported to Rome to direct traffic.

John Semple
Philadelphia

Couldn't the mandatory female-nipple display have been dispensed with in *King Kong*?

I hope parents who can't prevent their children from seeing the latest "big bopper" will try to explain that there are more worthy demands to be made of any art form than "Show it" and that some aspects of human life have more value than their incidental contribution to even the most fantastic box office receipts.

Dave Kersting
Milwaukee

It is amazing how much King Kong resembles George Meany. It is no wonder that Meany is such a successful negotiator.

Stephen H. Clouter
Bolton, Mass.

Puppet Show

It is not inconceivable that your Africa bureau chief, Lee Griggs, will sooner or later join the long list of journalists who are *persona non grata* in today's Republic of South Africa for his honest unmasking of "The Transkei Puppet Show" [Oct. 25].

David M. Sibeko
Pan-African Congress of Azania
Mission to the U.N., New York City

The requirement for an African state to become independent seems to be a bloody revolution instigated by a handful of Marxists. Famine, mass murders and a big mouth at the U.N. will not hurt the cause.

Apparently, orderly progress and the slightest trace of cooperation with South Africa will be enough to ruin the chances for independence. Transkei is indeed fortunate you do not consider it to be independent.

Stefanus F. van Zyl
Pretoria

Mechanics of Sex

Miss Hite's unnatural obsession with the clinical mechanics of sex [Oct. 25] leaves me with nothing more than a grimy feeling and a slightly squeamish stomach.

What this poor misguided woman has yet to discover is that if two people

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the rare taste of J&B.



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FORUM

really love each other and have entered into a marriage for life, the rest comes naturally.

*Carole Panaro
Brookfield, Wis.*

Chee whiz! It's like we were taught as kids... Excessive abuse of heterosexuality can actually inhibit a woman's normal enjoyment of masturbation.

*David P. Armentrout
Portland, Ore.*

How did we ever manage to get the population we now have without the solutions of the so-called sex experts of today?

*Daniel J. Walsh
Boston*

It is about time a young, intelligent person published some tangible data about sex to counter misconceptions people hold. Congratulations to Ms. Hite. I hope she continues her enlightening work, in the same non-radical manner.

*Ann Victor
Kenmore, N.Y.*

Destroying Hotels

Should your article on Lynyrd Skynyrd (Oct. 18) really have been included in the Music section? It seemed to me that you concentrated more on how

members of the band went about destroying hotels than you did on the band's musical talent.

*Jill N. Stefansen
West Lafayette, Ind.*

I was shocked to read the story about the group Lynyrd Skynyrd. They have always been a favorite of mine because their music relayed the message. "I live my life, you live yours—so don't bother me and I won't bother you." Now I see them as just another group of destructive punks and I'm disgusted.

*Monica Morgan
Bowie, Md.*

Big Trouble

There is little joy in the reported conclusion of the Leontief study (Oct. 25) that "world resources can support a growing population well into the 21st century." This hardly alters the situation perceived by both the doomsayers and the realists—that we are in trouble. I am not optimistic that the "extra" 50 or 75 years will be time enough.

*Edwin D. Council
Hopewell Junction, N.Y.*

Barbaric Institution

It is absolutely inconceivable to me that in a nation claiming to be civilized and advanced as the U.S., we can

allow the re-establishment of that barbaric institution, the death penalty (Oct. 18). Numerous studies have concluded that the death penalty has virtually no deterrent effect on those in a position to commit capital offenses, but it would appear that the Supreme Court has predicated its decision upon a passage from the Bible: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." What will be next, *Saturday Night Live*, with Chevy Chase and the execution of the week?

*Mark Pearlstein
Ann Arbor, Mich.*

I tire of reading about all the time being expended to save convicted killers from their deserved fate. If you must talk about appeal, then say something about the impossibility of appeal by the victims lying in their graves.

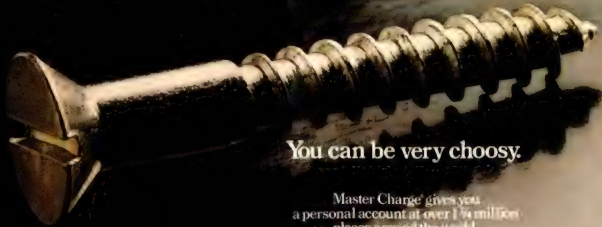
*Harold N. Boyer
Philadelphia*

What of those who have been put to death for a crime, when we learn afterward that they were, in fact, wrongly executed? Who will carry that weight? Perhaps it should be carried by the proponents of capital punishment.

*Beverly J. Walsh
Manchester, N.H.*

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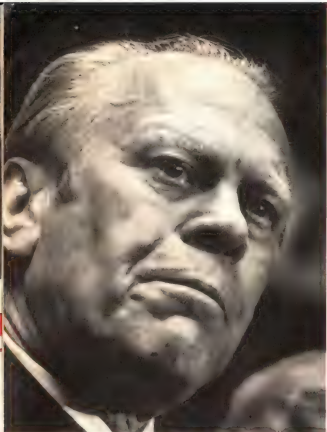
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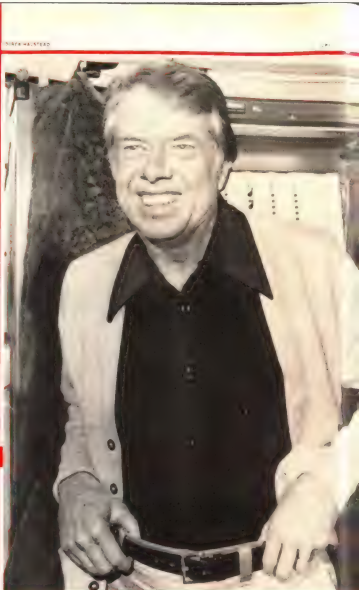
and
you thought
we just made
maps



THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE Nov. 15, 1976 Vol. 108, No. 20

TIME

FORD MOVED BY ELECTION EVE WELCOME BACK HOME
IN GRAND RAPIDS; CARTER LEAVING POLLING BOOTH;
BETTY FORD READING CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO
CARTER IN WHITE HOUSE WITH STEVE, THE PRESIDENT,
SUSAN, MICHAEL, DAUGHTER-IN-LAW GAYLE AND JACK. NEXT
PAGE: THE FAMILY AT ELECTION DAY RALLY IN PLAINS, GA.
(FAR LEFT: CARTER'S MOTHER-IN-LAW, FAR RIGHT: CARTER'S
SISTER AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW)





THE DECISION/COVER STORIES

CARTER!

ELECTION 

So the Carter era begins. New faces and new accents in Washington, a cast of characters far more "different" than a change of Administration usually brings; perhaps fresh directions for the nation. All this was greeted by the country in an oddly subdued mood. There were considerable expectations, some apprehension and still, a rather dazed sense of having gone through one of the most remarkable campaigns in modern American history.

The transition was dramatized on the day after the election in a memorably moving appearance by the barely defeated Gerald Ford. Wife Betty and their children in the White House press room. His voice a hoarse rasp from his final, valiant campaign drive, the President asked Betty to read the "Dear Jimmy" telegram that he had sent that morning to Winner Carter. As he listened, the muscles of his face tensely straining, he plainly struggled to control himself. Betty, also showing the weight of loss, smiled wanly and struggled to hold back tears, almost stifling the first mention of "President-elect Carter." Slowly, very slowly, she recited Ford's telegram: "We must now put the divisions of the campaign behind us and unite the country once again. I congratulate you on your victory. You have my complete and wholehearted support. May God bless you and your family. Then Ford walked into the group of reporters to thank them for their help to him and his family in his two years as President. Said he of the campaign: 'Well, we came from way back. Nobody can say we didn't give it a helluva try.'"

Ford had tried so hard that Jimmy Carter's narrowly triumphant Election Night was a haunting, suspenseful replica of his entire amazing, tortuous drive for the presidency. Just as he had broken out of the Democratic pack in the primary elections to win his party's nomination and hold a seemingly insurmountable 33-point advantage over Ford in the opinion polls last July, Carter was propelled into an early election-tabulation lead by the regional pride of his nearly solid native South. Then he seized two large states that had seemed doubtful: Texas and Pennsylvania. Once again, as in the early campaign against Ford,

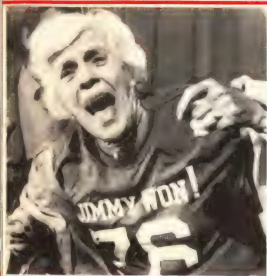
victory seemed all but certain. Once again, just as he had seen that huge campaign margin vanish, Carter could not pin down the 270 electoral votes needed to move him into the White House.

For hour after hour the uncertainty continued. Even after midnight, Eastern Standard Time, the division hovered uncanonically close in New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Virginia, Maine, Mississippi, Hawaii, New Mexico.

But while an anxious nation watched its television screens, the supremely confident Carter knew the way his personal winds were blowing. He awaited the returns in a starkly modern three-room suite in Atlanta's Omni Hotel—a posh setting that contrasted with the humble accommodations, often at the homes of supporters, that he had used as he began his once lonely campaign 22 months ago. At 11 p.m. he placed a call to Massachusetts Congressman Tip O'Neill, who is in line to become Speaker of the House. In his soft drawl Carter said: "Tip, I feel confident now that I'm going to be elected. I just want you to know that I will be able to work with you and the members of Congress, and we'll get along great together." Already, Carter was thinking ahead to the task that he will face as he picks up the reins of Government. The long years of a divided Washington, with a Republican President split off from a Democratic Congress, were about to end.

During the long night of vote watching, Carter sat, coatless, his tie loosened, eyes on the TV screens. He also spoke by telephone with AFL-CIO Chief George Meany, New York Mayor Abe Beame, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey and a nearly forgotten Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Tom Eagleton. He talked to Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo, whom he had once scorned as one of the "political bosses" to whom he owed nothing. "I really appreciate what you did for me," he told Rizzo, referring to the breakthrough victory in Pennsylvania.

Slowly through the early morning, Carter picked up the states



MISS LILLIAN WITH VICTORY T-SHIRT



THE CARTERS WITH SLEEPING AMY HEADING BACK TO PLAINS AFTER THE WIN

he needed. One early network projection tossed New York's juicy 41 electoral votes into the Carter column. By many counts, it was Mississippi that finally sealed the end of eight years of Republican rule.

As of Wednesday afternoon, Carter could be certain of only a 56-vote electoral margin. He had won 23 states and the District of Columbia—297 electoral votes. Ford had won 27 states with 241 votes. In no fewer than seven states the electoral winner was determined by roughly 1% of the votes. Carter's popular vote edge was more substantial. In actual votes, Carter won by almost 2 million, or 51% to Ford's 48%, greater than the bare victories of either Jack Kennedy in 1960 (49.7%) or Richard Nixon in 1968 (43.4%).

After acknowledging his victory in Atlanta, Carter and his family headed for Albany, Ga., aboard "Peanut One." He carried sleepy Daughter Amy into a car for their return to Plains. Even at dawn, some 400 townspeople awaited him. "I told you I didn't intend to lose," Carter said. Then, for the first time during the up-and-down campaign, his composure broke. He bit his lip, fought back tears, while most of his family wept. As the crowd cheered, then grew quiet, Carter conceded: "The only reason it was close was that I as a candidate was not good enough as a campaigner. But I'll make up for that as President."

Thus the born-again Georgian with the ready smile had become the first Deep Southerner to reach the White House since Zachary Taylor in 1849. His rocket rise out of relative obscurity to the Oval Office heights was one of the most sensational political success stories in U.S. history. Yet he had done it in such a sometimes brilliant, often halting, and finally narrow manner as to convey no commanding mandate for his campaign promises or any demonstrated confidence in his still disquieting personality.

In one sense Carter had won in a year in which nearly any respectable Democrat should have triumphed. While Gerald Ford could hardly be held accountable, the Republicans had presided over a lingering end to the Viet Nam War, had both produced and been victimized by the nation's worst political scandal, had seen their party's President and Vice President resign in disgrace, and had held office during the deepest postwar recession. Ford had pardoned the man who appointed him.

It was thus a tribute to Ford's astonishing persistence, his own achievements in helping to pull his party out of the quagmire he had inherited, and his own basic decency that he ran as close a race as he did. It was also a measure of the nation's doubts about Carter that the race was so close.

Carter won because a majority of the voters wanted a Democrat in the White House after eight years of Republican Administration. But the election was close largely because so many voters were worried about taking a chance on Carter. After all of the national debates, after all the articles about his life and policies, the people still felt that there was some unexplored dimension about him. Says Public Opinion Analyst Daniel Yankelovich: "In the pre-Watergate, pre-Viet Nam era, the people were more willing to take a chance. Now they have indeed taken that chance, but by the slimmest of margins—and with enormous reservations."

The small majority of voters apparently were ready to wager on the good qualities they see in Carter, as against the mysteries they still find in his personality. Clearly, when they finally made up their minds in one of the most indecisive voting moods in modern times, they based their choice on the potential of Carter rather than on the relatively predictable, limited Ford they know.

Carter hardly had a mandate for sweeping change. His victory was very regional and based largely on social and economic class. He was supported by the blacks, by low-income earners, by the poorly educated and others who felt that they were hurting.

As it turned out, Carter, who said he did not want to be beholden to any interest groups, has a few debts to pay off. Labor unions worked feverishly to turn out votes for him, and could claim that their efforts were critical in Pennsylvania, Texas and Ohio. If there was any other one group to which Carter owed a great deal, it was the blacks. Four out of five blacks voted for the Georgian, and they apparently made the difference for him in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Despite fears among Democrats that the quixotic independent candidacy of former Senator Eugene McCarthy might drain enough votes away from Carter to cost him some key states—and perhaps the election—the Minnesota maverick proved mostly an irrelevant irritant. His votes in Washington, Ohio, Oregon and Illinois prolonged the suspense. Overall, McCarthy marshaled only a minuscule 1%. The would-be spoiler was mostly a washout.

In general, Democrats who ran for Congress fared better than Carter, many of the winners piled up larger majorities in their states than the man at the top of the ticket. The Republicans won some seats in both houses, but they still failed in their all-out drive to whittle the Democrats' commanding majorities. On Wednesday afternoon it ap-



SAD FORD FAN IN MARYLAND

peared that the Senate would have 62 Democrats and 38 Republicans—the same as before. And the House would also have close to the same makeup—290 Democrats to 145 Republicans, exactly a 2-to-1 split, as in the last Congress. The continuing huge majority of Democrats in the House was remarkable, considering that many party freshmen had been elected in reaction to Watergate two years ago and seemed vulnerable this time.

Now, with both the White House and the Congress in control of the same party, there will be a new opportunity for the two branches of Government to work together. But since so few Senators or Congressmen rode on Carter's coattails—indeed, in some cases it was

the other way around—the new President's traditional honky-tonk moon with Congress may be fairly brief and subdued.

Whether Carter's promise of a highly productive first term will be realized may well hinge on his still unknown facility for compromise when his own proposals meet inevitable resistance, even from a legislature dominated by his own party. A President determined to exert strong leadership could have difficulties, particularly with an essentially disparate and unmanageable Congress of 535 legislators.

In his moment of victory, Carter seemed well aware of the need to reach out to unify all political elements in the nation. He was gracious to his defeated foe. Despite the sometimes bitter flavor of the campaign, right down to its closing moments, Carter told a joyous crowd of some 35,000 celebrating supporters in Atlanta's World Congress Center that Ford had been "the toughest and most formidable opponent anyone could possibly have." He praised the President for a "thoroughly organized and hard-fought" campaign and reiterated that Gerald Ford is a "good and decent man." Pledging to "unify our nation," Carter symbolically clenched his fist and held it high. "I pray that I can always live up to your confidence and never disappoint you," he said near the conclusion of his arduous campaign. Since the nation had exhibited a divided and tentative confidence in Carter and its expectations are not notably high, his prayer may not be all too difficult to fulfill.

The final hours were exhilarating for Carter. After sinking so fast in the polls, he would have faced political oblivion—and an embittered Democratic Party—if he had lost. Instead, Carter seemed to pull his erratic campaign together in its closing days.

Even as the Gallup poll taken last weekend showed that his lead had evaporated and Ford had edged ahead by a statistically insignificant 1%, Carter's final appearances as he raced to Los Angeles, Fort Worth, Dallas, San Francisco and Flint, Mich., drew rousing, cheering crowds. He responded with some of his most effective, eloquent oratory since the campaign had begun. Even some last-minute Ford campaign ads attacking Carter's record as Governor of Geor-

gia and misrepresenting his position on taxes failed to maintain the momentum that the President had been building.

Ford, too, reached new heights of spirit and crowd appeal in the last days of the long campaign, though he had to nurse his ailing throat with everything from cough lozenges to hot chicken soup. As he pleaded with a large audience in Philadelphia to "confirm me with your votes now just as you confirmed me with your prayers in August of 1974," Ford visibly impressed his listeners. On election eve, the President flew back to Grand Rapids to vote. Perhaps it was the emotion welling up from the huge welcoming throng, perhaps it was the memories of his youth, but when he spoke to the crowd about his parents, he was near tears and his voice cracked. "Everything I have," said he, "I owe to Gerald R. Ford Sr. [long pause] and Dorothy Ford."

The next night, back in the White House, the President kept his emotions in check and his thoughts closely guarded. He watched the returns from the second-floor living room and den, sipping drinks and dining on a buffet of beef stroganoff, seafood creole, fresh fruit and pastries. Surrounded by his family and a few friends, he exhibited outer confidence. Yet the mood of the gathering was apprehensive. After 3 a.m., before the latest return had gone sour and Carter had congratulated him for a superb campaign, the man who had come so heartbreakingly close went to sleep without conceding his loss. His aides insisted he still thought he had a chance to win. The concession was to come the next day.

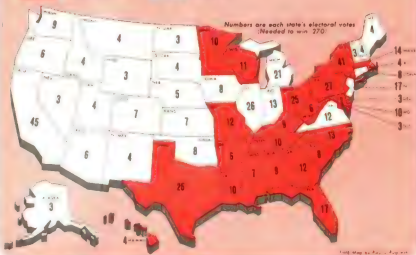
Given his own limitations, plus the heavy baggage that the Republicans have had to carry since Watergate, Jerry Ford could hardly have done better. He will turn over to Carter the leadership of a nation that is far, far stronger politically and economically than when Ford inherited a discredited presidency from Nixon. Carter begins not only with that advantage but also, as an outsider, he is free of many heavy obligations to special groups. He is fettered only by the growing awareness of the limitations of Government, and he promises to make it more "efficient" and "compassionate."

More than Ford, Carter is open to new ideas, to taking a fresh look at old problems. The President-elect has often said that he holds a conservative respect for personal initiative and fiscal prudence, as well as a liberal dedication to helping those left behind in a competitive society. In an election characterized less by apathy than by indecision, that may well be what the voters are saying they want in a President.

HOW THE STATES WENT

297 Carter

241 Ford





CHICAGO VOTER IN A UKRAINIAN PRECINCT



HEAVY BLACK VOTE IN COLUMBIA, S.C., RESULTED IN LONG QUEUES

THE VOTE

Marching North from Georgia

Torn asunder by George McGovern's poorly executed and unsettling "New Left" campaign in 1972, the old Democratic coalition—for decades a dominant force in national elections—seemed to have passed forever from the political scene. Consisting of a strange collection of minority bedfellows—ethnic blue-collar workers (mostly Catholic), blacks, Southern whites, Jews and campus-oriented intellectuals—it appeared unlikely to be born again under any Democratic presidential nominee, let alone a small-town Georgian. Yet on Election Day 1976, the coalition re-emerged. Some parts creaked badly, some were hardly recognizable, and others seemed to be missing. But the resurrected coalition held together well enough to enable Jimmy Carter to eke out his narrow victory.

Many conservative and moderate Democrats were appalled when, after the national convention, Carter made bald appeals to some of the elements of the old coalition that seemed cool to his candidacy. His choice of Walter Mondale as a running mate was part of that plan. Norbert Dreiling, former Kansas Democratic state chairman, felt that Carter had "blown" the campaign by spending too much time "trying to woo back the liberal wing of the party." Pollster Lou Harris also believed that Carter had taken a large risk by retreating from his independent stance, his widely perceived conservatism, and going after the recalcitrant groups of the coalition. "What he apparently failed to consider," said Harris, "was that the elements of the



ELDERLY RESIDENTS OF WEST PALM BEACH, FLA., CROWDING THE POLLS

old coalition, which constituted some 60% of the electorate during F.D.R.'s days, now make up only 43% of the voters. At the same time, the groups that Ford appealed to—college graduates, suburbanites, white-collar workers—have been growing in numbers.

Still, despite a flawed campaign, Carter's strategy worked.

The 1976 election map tells part of the story. For the first time since 1944 the South was solid again, or nearly so, of the eleven Southern states, all but Virginia came home to the Democratic Party. In the Northeast, most of the populous industrial states—dominated by elements of the coali-

tion—also returned. Throughout the country, blacks, who never left the party, gave Carter overwhelming margins. Union members voted in large numbers for the Democratic candidate. The Irish, Jews and Eastern Europeans were back in the fold, though in smaller numbers than the Democrats had hoped. Italians, perhaps out of the coalition for good, stayed with the G.O.P. by a small margin. But they were replaced by some newcomers, previously Republican white Protestants and farmers.

To sketch out the anatomy of the vote, TIME correspondents across the nation kept close tabs on carefully selected, representative precincts on Elec-

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tion Night, interviewing voters and comparing the final vote tallies with those of previous elections. From their reports, the following analysis of key voting groups emerges:

THE BLACKS: DECISIVE

Without the overwhelming support for Carter among blacks—many of whom felt that he had lived among them, understood them and had fought for their civil rights—Gerald Ford would have been elected. Among the nation's white voters, Ford won 51% of the vote to Carter's 48% (the remainder being divided among Eugene McCarthy, Lester Maddox and others). Blacks made the difference by giving Carter a healthy 84% of their vote; in one black Raleigh, N.C., precinct, for example, the vote was Carter, 1,130; Ford, 27. In New York City, blacks got the message in a campaign pamphlet titled, *No Butz about Jimmy Carter*. It said, in part, that "the issue isn't a *Playboy* interview or whether he lusts after women. It's unemployment. And he was a good Governor in that he brought women and blacks into his agencies, established a recruitment program for blacks and a sickle-cell anemia foundation."

SOUTHERN WHITES: BACK AGAIN

Jimmy Carter was one of their own, and Southerners responded to a Dem-

ocratic candidate as they had not since the days of Franklin Roosevelt. Said one Democratic state chairman: "We've been telling people that it's taken 128 years for a person from the Deep South to get nominated, and if they hope to see their sons and daughters in a position to run for President, they'd better vote for Carter." They did. For example, among white Baptists, most of whom live in the South and have been voting Republican in recent elections (some 77% voted for Nixon in 1972), Carter got more than 56% of the vote. In one precinct of Georgia's De Kalb County, which gave Richard Nixon an overwhelming tally in 1968, Ford won by only 747 to 727.

THE JEWS: SLIPPING AWAY

Richard Nixon captured nearly 40% of the Jewish vote in 1972, one of the largest percentages ever won by a Republican candidate. President Ford took an even bigger bite out of the Jewish wing of the coalition, getting about 45% of a group that is traditionally heavily Democratic. In Miami Beach's largely Jewish Precinct 480, for example, voters, who in 1968 gave Hubert Humphrey a 391-to-111 edge over Richard Nixon, this time actually endorsed Ford over Carter by a 551-to-481 vote. Some of

Ford's popularity among Jews stemmed from the undiminished flow of U.S. arms to Israel, but many Jews were also uneasy about Carter's religious philosophy. Said Ellis Rubin, a North Beach, Fla., lawyer: "When a guy keeps telling you he's more religious than you are and keeps wearing his badge on his sleeve, you begin to wonder. Jews have always been concerned about the separation of church and state."

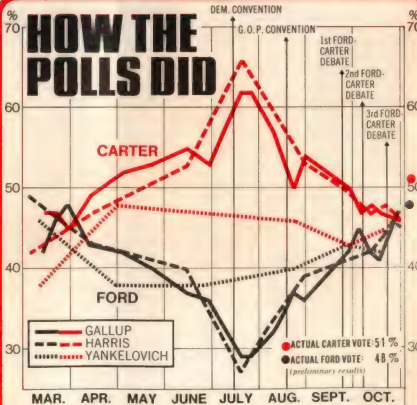
CATHOLICS AND ETHNICS: DEFECTING

Once the mainstay of the coalition, white Catholics this year gave Ford just over half their vote. Although Carter's religion and his abortion stand influenced some, busing and school desegregation, which have stirred anti-black sentiment in many Catholic urban neighborhoods, may be the biggest factor in the continuing drift toward the G.O.P. For example, despite Carter's determined efforts to woo Italian votes ("I think it's a shame that someone of Italian background has never been appointed to the Supreme Court"), more than 55% of the Italian vote went to Ford. In the 24th Ward of St. Louis, a predominantly Italian, blue-collar area where 7,000 of the 9,000 voters are Catholic, Carter won by a less than 2-to-1 ratio; Lyndon Johnson and Hubert

In his final sampling for *TIME*, completed Oct. 19, Pollster Daniel Yankelovich found Jimmy Carter ahead of Gerald Ford, 45% to 42%. That lead was precisely the margin by which the Democrat, according to nearly complete returns, won the popular vote (51% to 48%). George Gallup continued polling until three days before the election and gave Ford an edge of 47% to 46%. Louis Harris wound up a day later and found Carter ahead by 46% to 45%. Given the standard 3-point margin for error, all three polling organizations did well in detecting a close race.

In their final soundings, both Gallup and Harris termed the election too close to call. Each had given Carter a lead of 30 or so points immediately after the Democratic National Convention in July, and each had traced the steady—and inevitable—erosion of that lead. Yankelovich did not poll immediately after the Democratic Convention, when Ford had not yet been chosen, and consequently never found more than a 10-point lead for the Democrat. Nonetheless, he too picked up the falling-off to a dead heat but also registered Carter's rebounding to the 3% lead.

The singularities of the 1976 election—with two candidates who displayed well-developed capacities for blundering—gave pollsters their sternest test. They appear to have earned good grades



TIME Chart / The Chartmakers, Inc.

ELECTION

Humphrey each took the ward by nearly 3 to 1. Said St. Louis Democratic Chairman Paul Berra: "Carter's firm stand on the Democratic abortion plank clearly cost him votes."

Among other ethnic groups, Carter did better in Rhode Island, which has the highest unemployment rate in the nation (11%). Catholic blue-collar workers, responding to union drives, cast thousands of pocketbook votes for Carter, helping him sweep the state. Said Margaret McKenna, Carter's campaign chairman in Rhode Island: "The turnout was big because the people feared that another term for Ford would have been disastrous for the state. The economy has been in constant decline in Rhode Island, and Ford was blamed for it." Carter also took some 56% of the Irish and about 55% of the Eastern European vote. But Mike Sotiros, a director of the Ford campaign in New York State, feels that Carter's *faux pas* about Eastern Europeans actually helped Ford cut into Carter's margin in this group. Says he: "It gave Ford Erie County (Buffalo) with its 300,000 Polish votes. Carter should have let the gaffe lie."

WHITE PROTESTANTS: NEW BLOOD

Carter made up for some of the Democratic losses among coalition groups by capturing nearly 50% of the white Protestant vote, compared with 30% for George McGovern in 1972 and generally higher than Democratic candidates have received in recent elections. Some of this gain obviously represents the white Baptist switch. But much of it comes from rural areas where farmers felt an affinity with their Georgia counterpart and hostility toward the Ford Administration because of the 1974 embargo on wheat sales to the Soviet Union. In Montgomery County, a rural wheat-growing area in southeastern Kansas that usually gives 60% of its vote to the G.O.P. contender, Ford won by 8,410 to 6,920—or only 54%. Carter also made inroads in the Republican farm vote in Oklahoma's northwestern wheat country, and was put over the top in his Wisconsin win by farmers.

Still, it was the South, finally, that made Carter's march north from Georgia feasible. Carter does not end up as a figure who is very popular nationally, though he received 52% of the vote in the East, he lost the Midwest (49%) and the West (46.8%). It was also, for America, notes Pollster Daniel Yankelovich, an election that fractured to a marked degree along the fault line separating the haves and have-nots. The affluent, the well-educated, the suburbanites largely went for Ford; the socially and economically disadvantaged for Carter. Thus Carter is in a position similar to that of John Kennedy in 1960 and of Richard Nixon in 1968—a winner by a whisker who must still create a national following and prove himself to a truly broad constituency.

Those Who Stayed Away

It was just about as bad as the pollsters had predicted. According to preliminary estimates, some 80 million Americans, or under 54% of the 150 million voting-age citizens in the U.S., took the trouble to step into balloting booths. The turnout in 1972, when the outcome was a foregone conclusion, was 55%. By contrast, 91% of the electorate recently cast ballots in West Germany and 90% in Sweden.

Most U.S. opinion polls had indicated that many voters would abstain not because they did not care but because they were disillusioned about government corruption and disappointed with the candidates. "I'm not apathetic about not voting," said Los Angeles Attorney Richard Deyo, 36, who had served as a

needs shaking up." His reasoning: "If the people who voted for Nixon because they didn't like McGovern had not voted at all, Nixon would have won by a much smaller margin and might have behaved differently as President."

David Greenwald, 64, a fund raiser for philanthropic institutions in Manhattan, said withholding his vote was the most effective way for him to pass judgment on the candidates. "I'm expressing an opinion," he added. "I'm stating that both are bad."

Many ballot boycotters hoped that their actions would eventually lead to reforms. Lincoln, Neb., stockbroker Don Geis, 41, coordinated Senator Frank Church's primary campaign in Nebraska, and was disgusted with the surviv-



DON GEIS

LINDA ABRAMS

DAVID GREENWALD

volunteer for Republican stalwarts Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. "I'm emphatic about it."

In San Francisco, John Roscoe, 46, a grocery chain store president, laughed sardonically. "I'm a three-time loser. In 1964 I voted for the peace candidate—Johnson—and got war. In '68 I voted for the law-and-order candidate—Nixon—and got crime. In '72 I voted for Nixon again, and we got Watergate. I'm not going to vote this time."

In interviews with nonvoters across the nation, TIME correspondents noted that while some felt apologetic about abstaining, many were confident that they had taken the only proper action. Los Angeles Attorney Linda Abrams, 26, has been pasting stickers on her private letters that read: DON'T VOTE—IT ONLY ENCOURAGES THEM. A Phi Beta Kappa from U.C.L.A., Linda said, "The only way I would vote now would be if there were four categories: Democrat, Republican, No Preference and Abolish This Office."

Manhattan Adman Paul Hartnett went a step further. "I consider it my duty as a good citizen not to vote," he declared. "If 60% of the country did not vote, it might shake up the political process, and that would be fine because it

ing candidate. He asked: "In a nation of over 200 million is this the best we can come up with?" Geis suggested that voting booths be outfitted with a category labeled NONE OF THE ABOVE. Said he: "If none of the above wins it, we should then start over until we come up with decent candidates."

His ideas were echoed by California Publisher Sys. Leon, 53, who founded a League of Non-Voters and even co-authored a book entitled *None of the Above*. Said Leon: "I don't vote because I don't want to force a second-class decision on my neighbors." To propagate his views, Leon has been handing out bumper stickers by the scores. One of them reads: THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS IS EVIL.

Perhaps—but there is another point of view, and nobody ever phrased it better than Ogden Nash did in his memorable putdown of nonvoters:

*They have such refined and delicate palates
That they can discover no one
worthy of their ballots.
And then when someone terrible
gets elected
They say, There, that's just what
I expected!*



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WE'RE EASY TO REMEMBER.

INTERVIEW

'What I'll Do': Carter Looks Ahead

In the first interview that he has given to discuss plans for his new Administration, Jimmy Carter talked with TIME Chief of Correspondents Murray Gort and Washington Correspondent Stanley Cloud.

Q. What is on your agenda of things to do immediately? What are your top priorities as you look ahead?

A. One of the commitments that I've made is to call together my own foreign policy advisers and the key leaders of Congress to spend a couple of days in an isolated place. We plan to talk about our foreign policy successes and our failures, our challenges for the future, and we are ready to discuss almost every individual nation. I want to be sure that my knowledge in this field is as great as it can be and that there be some unanimity, or at least a common understanding, of where we are going in the next four years. This would be a drastic departure from what exists now. I feel that Mr. Kissinger has only permitted Congress to become involved in the decision-making process when it was politically expedient for him to do so.

Q. Would your Secretary of State be included in this group?

A. I guess so, although I have no idea as yet who the Secretary of State might be. What I'll do is use the same general procedure to choose the major officials in Government as I used last summer for my vice-presidential nominee: careful assessment of people's qualifications, including the assessment of the qualifications [of a possible choice for the position] from others who might be considered for Secretary of State.

Q. Has that process begun?

A. Yes, but I have not participated in it personally.

Q. What is your domestic blueprint for the days ahead?

A. I plan to start working with business and labor leaders to establish a framework for voluntary wage and price restraints. I would like to move as far as I can toward this goal on a strictly voluntary basis. Perhaps that would be adequate for the whole four years. I will also work with the congressional leaders immediately, and obviously with business and labor, on rapidly expanding job opportunities, particularly in those areas which require minimum federal funding. The housing industry is one that cries out to be revitalized, and I would do everything I possibly could with homes for the elderly. We will be ready, I think, between the election and the end of the year, to evolve—again with the leaders of the entities that are concerned—a fairly compre-



hensive approach toward transportation and energy and welfare reform.

Q. All to be presented in the State of the Union message?

A. I hope so; and I don't want my absence of mentioning things to be exclusionary. Like health, I certainly would do health and education. I don't want anybody to feel that I've left out those problems. We've made a lot of progress already in this respect. Obviously, the major business leaders are inclined to vote Republican. They always have been, but I think that they will be eager to help me evolve the solution to these problems. And I don't have any concern about that. I'm a businessman. I talk their language.

Q. Is it your hope that the tax-reform proposals would be formulated by the time Congress opens?

A. No. I can't do that. That's going to require some additional study, and I don't want to be flip about it. I don't want to mislead anyone, but the work on it is well under way, and between now and Jan. 20 a lot of work will have been done with advisers, obviously, but also with people like Senator Russell Long and Congressman Al Ullman [respectively, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee]. I would guess that it would take several months of next year before we could come forward with specific proposals ready for a congressional hearing.

Q. Do you plan to have a bipartisan cast to your Administration, in the sense of having at least one Republican in your Cabinet?

A. My inclination would be to use people from both parties, but I hate to commit myself to a token Republican. What I'll do is assess each case on the basis of merit, and I would guess, strictly on the basis of merit, that one of twelve would likely be a Republican.

Q. Beyond what you already said, do you have anything like a first-hundred-days list of things that you want accomplished?

A. We're going to try to be ready by the time Congress convenes in January with an alternative Budget in Brief [to that which President Ford will be submitting]. We are already consulting with the leaders of the budget committees in the House and Senate, as well as other congressional leaders, so that we can move rapidly in trying to make the first budget in my Administration answer the questions that I've raised—to fulfill the promises I've made.

But it is a massive undertaking. One of the things that we intend to do is send a small task force of people into the Republican Cabinet members' offices and say, "You know,

we're not here to try to run your department. We just want to learn, based on your experience, what you would do in the next four years to make your department more viable, more effective, more efficient. We hope that you'll cooperate with us." And I believe they will. This is what I did when I was elected Governor, and it worked very well. I particularly want to use the top civil service leaders to help me understand how best to make their own careers more effective and the commitment of their subordinates more effective.

Q. What do you intend to do about establishing relations with the leadership in both houses of Congress?

A. That's already been done to a major degree. I've outlined to you what I would do [to consult with Congress] in the field of foreign policy, and the same thing would be done concerning health, welfare, taxation and agriculture.

Q. Would you convene advisers in study groups?

A. Absolutely. From the outside.

Q. You've said that your approach to reorganizing the Government would be to ask Congress for executive authority to accomplish the changes, subject to congressional veto later on. How soon will you ask Congress for that authority?

A. Immediately—so that we can start making plans. I would like Congress to direct the President to reorganize the Executive Branch, subject to subsequent veto of the Congress on individual proposals. This would give tremendous substance to the whole thrust—you could go into a department and say, "This is what we want to do now. The law says it must be done, and I'm the President and I'm carrying out Congress's directives and my own commitment to the American people."

Q. How would your approach compare with the Hoover Commission? (Appointed by Congress in 1947 and headed by former President Herbert Hoover, the bipartisan group studied ways of streamlining the Government. Congress later put some of its reforms into effect, notably by setting up the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.)

A. Similar, but I'll be much more deeply involved myself.

Q. Will you have some public figure who is highly regarded helping out with it?

A. My inclination would be to have more than one. I will probably choose a panel of distinguished American citizens—six to ten people who will work full-time on it and volunteer to give their services to the nation. That's my present thinking. I reserve the right to make a change [in the recommendations], but I would like to be the chairman of a group and let us work to evolve this. It is a major undertaking, and to have a separate commission isolated from the White House, isolated from



the President, really takes away from it a potential strength that should be there.

Q. Wouldn't you then be committed to carry out the commission's findings?

A. Yes. I would be responsible for them. When I was Governor, I told the study group in Georgia, which worked six months full-time [on government reorganization] and had a total membership of about 120, not to worry about politics. I said, "Let's come up with a recommendation that would be best for our state. Don't you tone down your recommendation because you think it might not be feasible. If we have an argument with the legislature, we'll go directly to the people and let them make the decision." And we had extraordinary success in Georgia. If you tone down or are reticent or timid about what is proposed just because of political expediency, you rob the whole process of much of its strength. The simplicity of it, the completeness of it, the obvious advantage to the nation of the changes—these are your major selling points. And if you throw those away on political deals ahead of time, then what you offer to the American people is not nearly so attractive.

Q. Is it your judgment that you will need congressional approval for your zero-base budgeting plan? (The system requires governmental units to start from zero and justify every penny they ask for.)

A. There is no requirement that the Congress approve the President's procedure for evolving his own budget. By the way, the Congress is moving very rapidly toward a zero-based budgeting technique. Also the Sunset Law, which in effect causes every program to be reassessed for its efficiency every five years.

Q. What proportion of the 100 or so people who will be at the heart of your Administration have you already picked out in your mind?

A. None. I've deliberately avoided that. I'm not being coy about it. There are about 75 people whom I will select personally, and among those 75 positions I have not identified any person to sit in a particular position. There are, obviously, people around the country whom I would consider very seriously asking to come into the Government. Governors or mayors or perhaps a few members of Congress or perhaps leaders in different professions.

Q. How long will it take to get that process nearly completed? The first 30 days?

A. I doubt that I would rather do it cautiously, and there's no prohibition against a future Secretary of State who hasn't yet been asked to serve participating fully in the evolution of a future foreign policy. So the actual identification of a Cabinet member is not so important as having that [person] help me in the process of transition. I don't feel a time constraint.

Q. What specifically would you hope to accomplish in policy toward South Africa, the Middle East and Asia?

A. Let me speak more in a generic sense rather than specifics. I hope to establish, as best I can, a position where our country is the leader of the world, based not on military might or economic pressure or political persuasion but on the fact that we are right and decent; that we take a position with every nation as best we can according to what is best for the people who live there. I strongly favor majority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa. I plan to let that be known to the world.

Second, I plan to appoint diplomatic officials who have superb credentials, strictly on the basis of merit, not reward people for political favors. And that's a commitment that I've made on my word of honor. I'm not going to break it.

Another thing is to treat developing nations as individuals, not as a bloc. And this would apply not only to the African nations but also to those in Latin America and in Eastern Europe as well. I'd like to try to cement, as much as I can, a good relationship on trade, cultural exchange, student exchange, tourism and foreign aid; using myself, the members of my Cabinet, maybe Governors on occasion, as special emissaries, and members of my own family. I hope to get what we call "world order" instead of power politics. World order means to me to try to establish peace.

Q. That sounds like Kissinger's policy by a different name.

A. I haven't detected any aspect of what I've just described to you that would be compatible with what Kissinger said.

Q. Keeping the peace by making countries see that peace is in their own best interests—isn't that just about what Kissinger says?

A. I think there has been in Kissinger's foreign policy an inclination to divide the world into two major power blocs and almost force nations to take a stand: "I'm for the U.S., I'm against the Soviet Union." "I'm for the Soviet Union, I'm against the U.S." I think that that is a permanently divisive attitude to take in world affairs, and what I'll do is try to get away from that position and deal with nations on an individual basis as far as what is best for their own people. Not force them to choose between us [and the Soviet Union] but let them choose our country because our system works best and because their trade with us and their open feeling for us would be in their best interest.

Q. You will need to make personal contact with foreign leaders?

A. Yes. I will, immediately, particularly with the leaders of the major nations. I've had invitations from many of them to either come to their countries or to let them—the leaders—come to see me. But I've deliberately waited until after



the election for that. I think it is best that I do this. But I will make contact with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the major European nations, Canada, Mexico.

Q. You've repeatedly said that you would issue a blanket pardon for all Viet Nam draft resisters in your first week in office. Is that a promise you intend to keep?

A. I intend to keep all my promises.

Q. That presumably is something that will have very high priority right after you take office?

A. That's right.

Q. Some people have expressed concern about what they see in your political philosophy as a move toward egalitarianism. How do you feel about the question of equality versus individual initiative?

A. I have no inclination to want a homogeneous society in which someone who is strong or able or brilliant or even fortunate is punished, and his substance—speaking about his financial substance, now—is taken away from him and distributed among those who are less highly motivated. I would not have a punitive tax rate at the upper levels, but I will continue to explore ways to make sure that those who are down-trodden, who are chronically unemployed, whose families have been required to suffer from past discriminations, are involved in the processes of Government and private life.

The ones who make decisions in Government and those that have been blessed with influence—I think they very seldom suffer when the Government makes a mistake. I want to make sure that we get away from that, and I believe that the powerful are eager to see that done as well. It is not a deliberate thing that the big-shot crooks go free—they never go to jail—and that the average American who violates a law has a much greater chance of going to jail. That's not right. It is not fair, and it is not decent.

Unfair differences still exist. They still exist in the tax structure. They still exist in job opportunities, in employment opportunities, in housing opportunities. Even when the Congress passes a law that is designed specifically to help the poor, quite often those tax monies tend to move out toward the more wealthy people, the ones who are better organized, more articulate, who understand the complexities of the laws more fully, who are versed in grantsmanship. I want to make sure that that kind of trend is reversed. I believe I can evoke my concerns adequately to the American people with fireside chats and so forth, and there would be a broad support for a change.

THE TRANSITION

'Proceed and Be Bold'

Jimmy Carter made unprecedented preparations to assume the presidency. As early as last May, he picked one of his closest aides, Jack Watson, to draw up a sweeping transition plan. TIME National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian spent the week before the election with Watson and was allowed to study some of the documents that were prepared for Carter's reading. His report

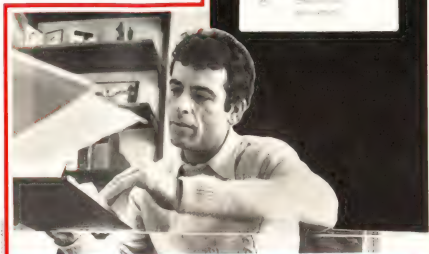
One of the first persons to confer with President-elect Jimmy Carter was Jack Watson, a wiry 38-year-old former Marine whom few had even heard about in the campaign just ended. Yet he had been in charge of one of the matters on which Carter placed the highest priority.

On one occasion Watson had hand-carried to Plains a black-bound memorandum that dealt with the candidate's favorite subject: Government reorganization. The memo had many recommendations—and questions. About one problem Watson wrote Carter: "We have identified 20 priority targets for organization and have liaison teams to go into the departments after the election. The question is whether the teams should begin before you have appointed the new department Secretary. There is a strong case to be made that we should wait." Carter's answer, scribbled in blue ink in the margin, was crisp and clear: "We won't wait. If leader is identified, good; if not, let's move."

While some members of his staff grumbled that campaign money was far too scarce to divert \$150,000 into a transition that might never take place, Carter simply told Watson to keep plowing ahead. Working 18-hour days behind his glass desk in Atlanta, Watson had personally interviewed and selected a team of 18 coordinators, most of them in their 30s, to collect the best ideas and judgments they could from top persons around the country. Watson visited with hundreds of top sources: former Cabinet officers, White House staffers, heads of the country's large foundations.

The response was extraordinary. Anthony Lake, a former aide to Henry Kissinger whom Watson asked to head the international security team, received 135 written papers alone. People from Government regulatory agencies, in particular, were outspoken in their advice.

Watson's staff prepared inch-thick opinion papers on such issues as national health insurance, tax reform, the FBI. Watson wanted true opinions, not advocacy papers. A man to whom the shadings of language are terribly important,



JACK WATSON PREPARING MATERIAL FOR BRIEFING VOLUME (INSET IN BACKGROUND)

he often bounced back reports with blunt notations like "This is an unsupported essay. Start over."

A briefing volume was prepared on every department and agency. The State Department volume, for example, contains contingency plans for Yugoslavia, discussions about opening a dialogue with Viet Nam, budget reviews. It reaffirms the need for a strong Secretary who is capable of "withstanding pressures from the munitions industry" and recommends that the national security adviser be confined to staff responsibilities, not policymaking.

In Watson's mind, budget preparations and staffing the Government are Carter's two most pressing responsibilities. For each of the 35 top Government appointments there will be candidates proposed who are described and evaluated by at least four peers. When Watson asked in another memo how much Carter intended to be involved in the selection of the next 200 positions, the candidate answered fully in the margin: "A lot." Watson's staff has put together a talent bank of 7,000 names from which to draw Ambassadorial and even Supreme Court candidates will be presented to Carter.

Virtually all of his life, Watson has been the peer to watch. The son of a Navy enlisted man, Watson went from high school at Pine Bluff, Ark., to Vanderbilt University, where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1960. He joined the Marines the same year. A slender man of 150 lbs., Watson had remarkable stamina. He set two permanent obstacle-course records at the Quantico base, where he became an officer. He bucked for the Marines' most elite outfit, the

First Force Reconnaissance company, and had to survive a list of training schools that were excruciating even for Leatherneck standards: cold-weather, escape and evasion, parachute jumping, scuba diving, demolition.

By 1963 he was accepted—where else?—at Harvard Law School. Once again he knew his objective and aimed for it: he wanted to become a trial attorney. He decided to move back to the South and went to an Atlanta law firm. "You can see the pattern with Jack," says one of his associates, Joe Bankoff, "the setting of an objective, and the moving toward it in a way that is not going to excite a lot of opposition." During his term as Governor, Carter became aware of Watson's talents. The young man clearly had a special way with people. When Carter tried to get his reorganization plan through the state legislature, Watson was the smooth arm twister he assigned to persuade the most resistant rural legislators. Then Carter asked him to head up the largest and most controversial of his departments, human resources, which included sensitive programs in drugs, mental health, Medicaid.

Thus it was almost natural last May that Carter would ask Watson to direct his ambitious plans for the transfer of power. When Watson sent his first memorandum, Carter wrote across the top of it "Proceed and be bold." Watson really liked that. And Carter knew his man. As the President-elect's principal in Washington for the next ten weeks—and probably a lot longer—the bold Jack Watson will certainly take the boss's advice.



No Longer a Way Station

For Plains, Ga., a normally placid farming community of 683 citizens, there would never be another day like this one: Election Day, 1976—family reunion and carnival and the world's front page all rolled into one. TIME Correspondent Bonnie Angelo was in Plains for the occasion and sent this report:

Plains is customarily a pretty serene workaday kind of world, but for this day the town was roped off from reality. The townsfolk, who believed in Carter back when the rest of the country laughed, had been preparing for the historic event for days. Bank Manager Marvin Nation was tacking up bunting on his building. Billy Carter was leaning on a red pickup truck, giving an interview to a reporter from Rio de Janeiro. The ladies of Plains, in best Southern tradition, had baked up a storm. Rosalynn Carter's mother produced her choice butternut cake a day early for fear she'd be too excited on Election Day. Contractor Robert Abnett was sawing and hammering the stand

on which the favorite son would speak.

Main Street—all two blocks of it—was like a Hollywood movie set. Plains residents weary of hearing visitors make that comparison, but the turn-of-the-century roofed sidewalks and flat-façade buildings seem oddly two-dimensional. One suspects that Carter's Worm Farm, the Peanut Museum and the half-dozen other establishments are folded away after a day's shooting. At the end of the street is the crowning bit of make-believe, the period-piece depot that does not deal with trains at all but is Carter's headquarters, festooned with peanut wreaths and campaign paraphernalia. On the freight platform is the rocking chair where Miss Lillian, Carter's already legendary mother, gives her thousandth interview.

Around the corner from Main Street is the one-room cement block community center with its two blue-curtained voting booths. Not a building anyone would notice, except that it was where Jimmy Carter cast his vote. The man seeking the presidency was not moved ahead of the others; the first man in line was his lifelong friend, Billy Wise, who was waiting when the doors opened.

Behind Carter in line was Jimmy Wallace, a sturdy black man who will turn 64 on Christmas Day. Outside, Wallace lingered, enjoying the scene. "I've known him all his life," he said proudly. "Me and him used to plow the mule together, back when I worked for his Daddy. I told him he'd come a long way, with the help of the Lord." A black nurse's aide smiled and said, "When I was voting I felt good about it. I've known Mr. Carter. He was always nice—a Christian gentleman. And I believe he'll do good." Both of them had helped put into the White House a man they knew personally, whose life had touched theirs, a shining illustration of what Election Day is about.

Plains on this day was swollen with tourists—from Los Angeles, Akron, Germany—all eager to be part of this

first page of a new chapter in history. They trailed along as Carter strolled two blocks to the peanut house. They explored Billy Carter's service station. They snapped happily as Miss Lillian rolled by in a Georgia state police car.

Miss Lillian swooped up to the polling place, took one look at the line of voters shivering in the brisk wind and declared, "I wouldn't stand in this line for nothin'!" An hour later she tried again, and upon receiving the voluminous ballot said airily, "I don't know what you'd do with all this except paper a barn." Behind the blue curtains she obviously relegated the long list of constitutional changes to the barn: she was closeted only long enough to flip the one lever she cared about.

Plains did not go completely for the man who put it on the map; the final tally was 481 Carter, 99 Ford. For those 99—and in Plains anybody who doesn't wear a Carter button is suspect—life may now be a bit chilly. "I just don't understand it," said a shopkeeper. "Jealousy, I suppose." Said the storekeeper next door: "I couldn't vote for somebody just because he lived here."

In Plains it's more than a matter of loyalty. A Carter victory guarantees a minor boom on Main Street. Contractor Abnett was already thinking about facilities for the Secret Service and Georgia troopers: "I hope I get my share of that work." Angie Stevens, manager of the Back Porch, a post-convention sandwich shop, had a forthright view of Election Day: "If he wins, we'll be here for five more years. If he loses—well, we've had a helluva good time!"

But the changing scene has brought new problems to Plains. At Walters' grocery store they posted a new sign: EFFECTIVE NOV. 1 ALL SALES WILL BE ON CASH BASIS ONLY. Sighed Mrs. Walters: "After 40 years in this store, things are changing. We have to do it."

The sunlit surface of this hamlet in its finest hour is clouded by a dark shadow—the bitter split within the Baptist Church over admitting blacks to membership. June Turner, wife of a deacon who opposes this change, talked about the agony to come, and tears slipped from her eyes. Without speaking his name, she blamed Jimmy Carter for pushing their church "into the spotlight, for putting it into politics." She wore no Carter button. Plains has produced a new President for the '70s, but is still fighting a battle of the '60s.

But that battle is not what preoccupied Plains on Election Day. In the floodlighted movie-set street, thousands milled about, dancing to the jarring sounds of the Zumi rock band, sipping beer, waiting for their President. By the time Carter came home, it was the start of a new day for him and for Plains. The town is no longer just a place you go through on the way to somewhere else. Plains is somewhere now.



OLD FRIEND JIMMY WALLACE, CROWD IN PLAINS AWAITING CARTER'S HOMECOMING



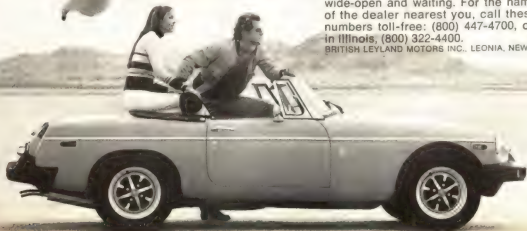


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Closing Out an Interim Chapter

About the time that the hopes of Gerald Ford began to run thin Tuesday night, there were only three people standing outside the iron fence along Pennsylvania Avenue looking at the floodlighted White House.

Maybe that was Ford's final legacy to this nation—a transition of power so tranquil that nobody in Washington felt compelled to take to the street in his anguish. They had stood in muted knots by the hundreds after John Kennedy was assassinated and Lyndon Johnson took over the office and went about his duties on the night of Nov. 22, 1963. It was a nightmarish time of conflicting emotions in the world of power. There is the chance that now, after 13 long and often painful years, our political system is finally returning to something like normal.

And then there were the memories of the uncertainty when Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not seek office again, forced out by protest over the war in Viet Nam. People gathered at the White House gates then to wonder about the future. Again they came by the thousands on the night of Aug. 8, 1974, when Richard Nixon told the nation he would leave office, a final great convulsion in that dark era. People cheered and wept and peered through the iron bars at the graceful façade that means so much to this nation.

But few came on Tuesday night. It was almost as if they felt secure at last, a singular tribute to what Ford had been, but also a declaration for change in the future.

The old mansion shone bright in a new coat of paint (applied expressly for the Inauguration). It was washed by intense incandescence, the Washington Monument rising behind the White House with equal brilliance and a three-quarter moon hanging above the whole scene.

It was as if some master scriptwriter had put it together once again for the United States. In the crisis of Watergate two years ago, Gerald Ford, without flair or ambition, had furnished what the nation needed—solidity, courage, common sense and honor. Ford's stewardship was a welcome change from the decade of disarray that began with the bullet that killed Kennedy. That he thought he should stay longer may have been Ford's biggest mistake. That another term, a prospect he had not considered when he first came to power, was more than the American people wanted to give him was something that Ford never quite accepted. His stubbornness was a part of his limited appeal, but like so much else with Ford, it was not a quality of inspiration.

In history Ford may figure as little more than a short, interim chapter, an expanded footnote. Yet it is, at the least, a critical chunk of a history that keeps churning and moving. Ford's call for a pause was

characteristic of the man but was not in the tradition of change that is at the center of American life.

Even as Ford gathered his family around him in defeat, there were shadowy reminders in his White House of the continuous American drama. Teddy Roosevelt rode his horse in the great oil paintings that festooned the Roosevelt Room in the West Wing. T.R. was a Ford favorite, but his exuberance was both physical and intellectual, something that Ford could not emulate. And Harry Truman was there in bronze and canvas, his guts and spunk something that Ford wanted to capture and use for himself but could not quite bring off.

Surely there will be a place some day down in the White House foyer for the portrait of the man who pulled the country out of its worst political scandal. Few Presidents have done more than one thing for their nation or left more than one thought or one mark in history. Ford has done that. The portraits that hung in the darkened foyer on Tuesday night included those of Truman and Eisenhower but also of Franklin Pierce and Martin Van Buren and Herbert Hoover, not men of greatness, but men who did their best. In that there is honor, Ford can proudly take his stand in such company.

He will hand the presidency to Jimmy Carter in good shape. It remains the world's most powerful office, stripped now of some of the imperial trappings that caused trouble, subject to more restraint in certain areas by the Congress, but—as symbol of the nation's ideals and administrator of American life—larger than ever.

It cannot possibly live up to this country's soaring expectations, but the presidency is unfettered finally from Viet Nam and Watergate and ready for a new try.

By one calculation, at least, Jimmy Carter will come to Washington less experienced in the ways of the power society than any President since Zachary Taylor. He has never stayed overnight in the White House, actually visited the building only three times and only for a couple of hours each time. But his distance from the Oval Office has been his strength, and with luck and skill it could be his genius. Those who have run the capital for so long have created a mystique about its complexities and its rituals, a device to persuade the nation to keep them in power.

Carter's victory seems to have changed that—how completely could be judged by the tearless acceptance of the verdict. For the most part, the Republicans jammed into the Sheraton-Park Hotel were free of bitterness, the Democrats in the Mayflower Hotel more reassured than exultant. And through the night, the other people of Washington, so sensitive to trauma, did not maintain a nervous vigil outside the gates of the White House.



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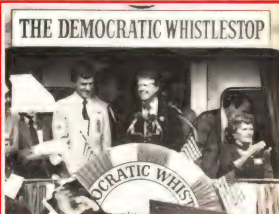
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THE WINNER

The Route to the Top



THE LONG TRAIL: A BEGINNER IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING SR., TEARFUL HUMPHREY BOWING OUT: ROLLING THROUGH PENNSYLVANIA

Jimmy Carter won with a combination of grit, driving ambition, daring if flawed political planning and a generous measure of good luck. As a campaigner, he struck many voters as more enigmatic than charismatic, as more of a trimmer than a visionary—and perhaps not really likable enough. In the end, he did not so much win the presidency as avoid losing it.

For a while it looked as if he would win by a landslide. After eight years of Republican rule—which included, along with many accomplishments, Viet Nam, Watergate, the recession—Americans seemed tired of the old political faces and became mistrustful of almost anyone with ties to Washington, symbol of all that had been going wrong.

All told, then, Gerald Ford was working under severe handicaps. Besides, he was an inept campaigner, prone to embarrassing mistakes and woefully unable to convince voters that he was truly "presidential." In retrospect, the narrowness of Carter's win was even more startling because it followed a masterly primary campaign in which he had outorganized and outworked nearly a dozen serious rivals and rocketed from obscurity to the nomination.

Carter began laying the foundation for his campaign four years ago, when he and his astute campaign director, Hamilton Jordan (see box page 34), drafted an uncannily prescient strategy

for the primaries. About a year later, as Democratic congressional campaign chairman for the 1974 election, Carter traveled all over, meeting party officials and power brokers, observing politics outside the South, learning firsthand the issues that bothered voters.

Adopting a "run everywhere" strategy for the nomination, Carter entered every state caucus and all but one of the 31 primaries (West Virginia was the exception—and that only because his slate of delegates failed to qualify). In the early days, he recalled later, "I doubt if one out of a thousand of you had ever heard my name. We went into factory shift lines, shopping centers, country courthouses and city halls, livestock sale barns and farmers' markets—to talk a little and listen a lot."

Some opponents charged that he was trying to be all things to all people, tailoring his positions to suit his audiences. There was mistrust, some ridicule of his strong religious note and his self-righteousness. Yet there was also obviously some appeal in the basic "trust me" approach adopted by the soft-spoken peanut farmer from Plains, Ga.

Despite all the "A B C" (Anybody But Carter) talk and some eleventh-hour feints by Hubert Humphrey, Carter had all but sealed his triumph by April 27, when he won Pennsylvania. Democratic power brokers like Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and others who had seen Carter as an upstart and an outsider, rushed to back him. Last aboard the bandwagon were the liberals. Carter won them over by choosing Minnesota's Senator Walter (Fritz) Mondale as his running mate and by delivering an acceptance speech that amounted to a populist vision of social reform.

After the convention, with some polls giving him a lopsided 62%-to-29% lead over Ford, Carter seemed supremely confident of victory. During those precious summer days at home in Plains, he spent more time working out what he would do once in the White House than what he would do to get there. Surprisingly, the *Wonderkind* who conquered the party in the spring with a nearly flawless strategy did not have a similarly well-thought-out master plan for the battle against Gerald Ford.

Moreover, Carter shunned the Democratic Party's horde of experienced organizers and brain-trusters. Apparently not fully trusting anyone but the Georgians who had helped him win the nomination, he stuck with them, even though they had little experience with national campaigns.

When Carter began full-time campaigning after Labor Day, he immediately ran into trouble. Because private opinion polls showed that many voters feared he might be too liberal, Carter swung around; he tried to sound more conservative and only lent credence to Republican charges that he flip-flopped on the issues. He staked out three slightly differing positions on grain embargoes; he spoke of ambitious new programs and of balancing the budget, he painted an almost Depression-like picture of the U.S. economy that many people perceived as unreal. In a year of skepticism about politicians, he was beginning to sound like any other exaggerating, overpromising old pol.

Several matters—relatively trivial but taken as clues to his character—became major news events and cost him support. Perhaps most damaging were

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7 ELECTION

his comments to *Playboy* about lust and his description of Lyndon Johnson as a liar and cheater, for which he publicly apologized to Lady Bird Johnson

After losing (in most of the public's judgment) the first televised debate, partly because he was too deferential, Carter tried to recoup by taking a harsher approach to Gerald Ford. Said Carter: "Ford is a good automobile. It is not doing too well in the White House—stuck in the mud, four flat tires, out of gas, gears locked in reverse." The stridency of his attack offended many voters. At the same time, Carter was growing more peevish with the press, and he began to withdraw.

After a September nadir, Carter's luck changed, and it was Ford's turn to hit the skids. Earl Butz, the misstatement on Eastern Europe, the brief investigation into his campaign finances as a Congressman. Refocusing his cam-



ROSALYNN ON THE WING IN CAROLINAS

paign, Carter revived the spiritual themes of trust, competence and a need for "a Government as good and decent as are the American people." His speaking style, effective on TV but never very good before large crowds, improved noticeably. In the last week of the campaign Carter hit 24 cities in twelve states,

emphasizing inflation and unemployment. Having cultivated the "outsider" image at the start of his long campaign, he now sought help from party bosses and labor leaders, the efforts by these insiders to turn out a vote may have given him the election.

In the end, reported *TIME* Correspondent Stanley Cloud, who covered Carter all through the campaign, the race was decided on personality and character, plus a desire for new leadership, even if it meant electing a relative unknown like Jimmy Carter. By capturing the Democratic nomination, Carter laid claim to an almost natural succession. Not since Harry Truman has either party held the Presidency for more than eight years. But Carter remained a mystery to many voters, and they opted for him less because of the "intimate relationship" that he claimed to have with them than because he offered the promise of a fresh start.

Engineering the Victory

As Jimmy Carter's confidant, factotum and campaign manager from the first, Hamilton Jordan '32, can be described as the chief architect of his boss's campaign. In an interview with *TIME* Correspondent John STACKS, Jordan (pronounced Jer-din) discussed his winning strategy.

Q. What was the critical ingredient in Governor Carter's victory?

A. The fact that the man—and his family—worked for four years, campaigned all over the country and understood the mood of the country and was able to address that in a positive way.

Q. What went wrong during the fall?

A. When you become as well known as rapidly as Jimmy has, it's impossible for the voters to have a deep understanding. During spring and summer they saw Carter and they liked him and wanted to know more about him. In September, instead of adding to the understanding, we distracted the electorate—Clarence Kelley, *Playboy*.

Q. Can you identify a turning point?

A. From the last part of the first debate on, we made progress. From that point on there was no doubt we were going to win.

Q. Your prime goal was to make the Ford record, not Jimmy Carter, the issue. Was that ever possible?

A. Yes. If he hadn't said and done a couple of things, the Ford record would have been the issue. But Jimmy Carter is always going to be somewhat the issue with people who don't know much about him. He's a more complex man than most politicians. At the same time, he is in a lot of ways a very simple man. He is a farmer, he is from a small home town, he's close to his family, he is a religious man.

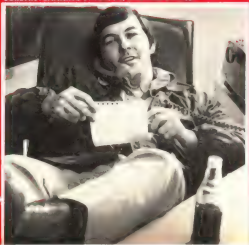
Q. What were his greatest strengths as a campaigner?

A. His determination, his commitment. The *Playboy* thing would have destroyed a lot of lesser candidates.

Q. His greatest weaknesses?

A. I don't think these are weaknesses, but we would have fared better if he had not been so accessible and so open. I regret it in that the *Playboy* thing hurt us.

JORDAN PLANNING STRATEGY, SOUTHERN STYLE



But I also think it's a quality that people can relate to and has been a plus. You know, we never thought it was going to be easy. There were a lot of little mistakes. Concentrating on one state more than another. We had some problems with advance work on the road. But we all made a good effort. In the last ten days of the campaign, I felt like the real differences in the two men started to come through. Ford was very safe, maintaining the status quo, not rocking the boat. Carter [conveyed] the feeling that he's going to try some things [and be] bolder in his approach to problems. I think we did so well because there is a willingness to take a risk, because [people] want a change.

Q. Did you do enough to involve other Democrats?

A. I'm sure we could have done more. I wish I could give you the names of those people who told Jimmy that they're not being used who had been called five or six times. I don't think we would ever have gotten as much out of them as would have a Humphrey or a Kennedy or someone who was known to them personally. But I doubt too that we got all we could from them. That's probably our fault.

Q. You've been at this for quite a while. Have you enjoyed it?

A. It hasn't been enjoyable since the primaries, since March or April. It's gotten so big, it hasn't been fun for quite a while now. It was a lot more fun when we were sort of fighting skirmishes all over the country, with a small number of people.

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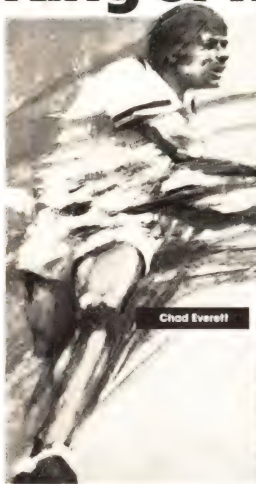
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Franciscus-Puchinelli	1	0	1.000
Everett-Hippenstiel	0	1	.000
Cosby-Prodan	0	1	.000
Connelly-Peralta	0	2	.000
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Schedule of upcoming Lauder's King of the Hill Tournaments:

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THE VICE PRESIDENCY

No.2 Made His Points

Far from being a mere appendage to the winning ticket, Walter Frederick Mondale turned out to be a considerable asset. With unflagging energy and unflinching good humor—even when his staff steered him to factory gates after shifts had changed—Mondale effectively worked the northern tier of the U.S. His assignment was to build bridges between Jimmy Carter and the sizable Democratic blocs that did not know the Georgian well: ethnics, labor, liberals.

Mondale pursued his assignment doggedly—and with more zest than he had shown in his own earlier aborted presidential quest. He improved on a previously humdrum speaking technique, lacing his talks with self-deprecating humor. In the end, newsmen voted him the happiest of the presidential and vice-presidential campaigns. Parodying an oft-repeated line from Mondale's speeches, "We want jobs—not hot air," reporters presented Mondale with a T shirt labeled *W I WANT NEWS—NOT HOT AIR*. He donned it at the end of an Election Day program that took him from tiny (pop. 2,000) Afton, Minn., where he voted, to his dentist for a checkup, and a tour of a museum.

After the results were in, some political analysts went so far as to speculate that Fritz Mondale had been the difference between victory and defeat for the Carter ticket. "The best decision that Jimmy made about the whole campaign was picking Fritz Mondale as his running mate," said Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss. Carter Adviser Hamilton Jordan told *TIME* Correspondent John Stacks that Mondale had indeed proved valuable, particularly after his strong showing in the precedent-setting vice-presidential debate with Republican Robert Dole. Said Jordan of the debate: "It gave us two or three extra points, a huge impact. A number of people saw Ford and Carter and thought 'What the hell!' But then we raised the vice-presidential issue, and it was decisive with a large number of people. It was a big, big plus for us." An *NBC* News poll following the debate showed 51% of respondents in favor of Mondale as Vice President, v. only 33% who considered Dole more helpful to his presidential candidate (see chart).

At 48, Mondale becomes a leading candidate to succeed Carter, no fewer than 13 Vice Presidents have moved up to the White House. The title of their presumptive is a traditional one for Vice Presidents; even Spiro Agnew in the wake of the Nixon landslide of '72 was so regarded. Mondale has a more substantial claim to the title than many of his predecessors. Only two years ago he

abandoned his own presidential ambitions because, he joked, in straw votes he was running behind even "don't know." Now he has a national constituency. He was unfamiliar to most voters before the Democratic Convention. But in the debate with Dole, Mondale came across as "presidential" in bearing—if a bit wooden.

Recent Vice Presidents have dutifully promised to bring meaning to the job. None have really succeeded. Even so, the role, with its perks and possibilities, is an attractive one. Hubert Humphrey confided to Mondale that with-out Viet Nam to haunt the Adminis-

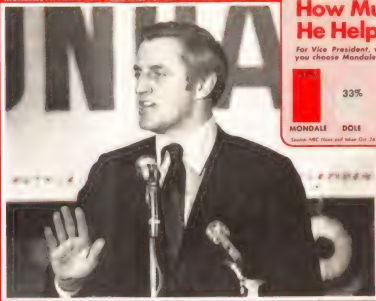
tration the Executive Branch without reorganizing Congress, and that's going to be hard. I feel I could play a role."

Mondale insists, however, that he does not want a place in Carter's Executive Branch chain of command. "I don't want to be a substitute for the President," he says. "Uncertainty of leadership is devastating. If I can spend my time advising on central issues, I think I could be more helpful than in an operating role." Mondale has not worked out the specifics of his new assignment.

"That's the next campaign," he says with a chuckle.

So far, at least, Mondale has worked smoothly with his leader. "In every conversation we have had, we got along beautifully," he said. "We complement each other." During the campaign, he maintained regular contact with Carter

MONDALE AT FINAL NEW YORK RALLY (INSET: POPULARITY RATINGS)



How Much He Helped

For Vice President, would you choose Mondale or Dole?



Source: NBC News and Wall St. J. 29/76

tration he would have relished the job of L.B.J.'s Vice President.

Mondale, on the basis of his campaign showing, is in a strong position to hold Carter to a promise to give his Vice President consequential assignments. One possibility: to act as liaison between the Congress, where Mondale has served for twelve years, and a President who knows little about the people and peculiarities of Capitol Hill.

Mondale is a man without large ego problems, which will help. But he does have demands: "I want to be in the loop," the Vice President-elect told *TIME*. "I'll be a member of the National Security Council and other statutory groups, of course, but I'd like to consult privately on economics, to have private input on the selection of personnel. I will be very helpful on certain issues. I'd like to work on Government reorganization. I don't think you can effectively reor-

ganize the Executive Branch without reorganizing Congress, and that's going to be hard. I feel I could play a role."

Mondale expects that relationship to continue—though he is well aware that antagonism and jealousy frequently grow up between the staffs of a President and his No. 2 man. "If Carter and I have good relations," he predicts, "the staff problems will take care of themselves. And if we don't, there is no remedy, even at the staff level." Mondale himself is working diligently—perhaps too much so—to make the relationship solid. Addressing an Election Night crowd, the Vice President-elect described Carter as "one of the greatest men in American history."



THE CONSERVATIVES' CHAMPION, RONALD REAGAN STILL WIELDS INFLUENCE



DOLE DOES NOT INTEND "TO FADE AWAY"

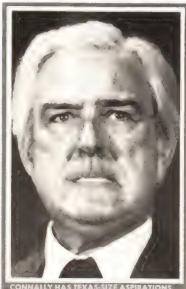
REPUBLICANS

There's Life in the Old Party Yet

Even while suffering presidential defeat, the Republican Party displayed an extraordinary capacity for comeback. Only last August political obituary writers were busily anticipating the G.O.P.'s demise as an effective part of the nation's elective system. In the wake of Watergate and the divisive struggle between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, surveys showed that a paltry 22% of voting-age citizens were willing to identify themselves as Republicans. Ford's Silky Sullivan stretch run changed the equations even though it resulted not so much from his own strength as from Carter's weakness. But the Republicans' fairly good showing in races for the Senate, House and governorships gave them hope for the future.

Probably not for 1980—unless Jimmy Carter turns out to be a singularly inept President, suffering foreign reversals, mismanaging the domestic economy and defaulting on his many reform promises. But what are the Republicans' longer-range prospects? There is surely a conservative strain in the country, but it is not easily exploited. The older "social" conservatism that was a reaction against radicals and the counterculture is fading. Economic conservatism—limited Government spending to avoid inflation, no social programs that would cost middle-income people too much money—remains powerful. But against this must be weighed such general and even global factors as higher energy costs and the slowing of growth in industrial societies, which conservative economists (or liberals for that matter) have not yet been able to cope with.

The groups to which the G.O.P. appeals—the affluent, the well-educated, the suburbanites and white-collar workers—are growing. But to recapture the



CONNALLY HAS TEXAS-SIZE ASPIRATIONS

White House, the Republicans will have to solve several problems. First, they must smooth over divisions between conservative true believers and the moderate wing. Second, they must broaden their appeal to win more votes from non-whites, city folk and the young.

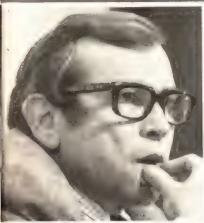
These are formidable conditions. The right-wing diehards, far from recognizing any need to move toward the middle to win broader support, already argue that Ford's defeat "proves" that they were right in the first place and would have done better with Reagan. Yet, most important of all, the Republicans must find a candidate who can appeal to diverse constituencies, notably the rising independents.

Gerald Ford, after his heartbreaking defeat, will probably retire to private life

re-emerging at rubber-chicken campaign banquets and on Old Timers Night at future national conventions (see box). But even though he will probably not run again for public office (he will be 67 in 1980), his surprising showing this November will enhance his stature as a party spokesman and senior adviser. Ronald Reagan will play a similar, if perhaps lesser role. He will be 69 in 1980—which may be too old to try again—but he will retain great influence, particularly through his weekly columns in 80 newspapers and his five-minute broadcasts every weekday on 187 radio stations. If Reagan anoints some chosen successor as the conservative champion, he can give that person a tremendous lift.

The choice will probably not be Robert Dole, though he insists, "I don't intend to fade away." The defeated vice-presidential candidate will go back to the Senate, where his term expires in 1980. Having presented a bad-mouth image and fared poorly in the polls during the campaign, he may well receive blame for the party's defeat and stands little chance of being nominated again for the G.O.P. ticket.

For a minority party, the Republicans have a formidable flock of other vote getters, mostly young moderates. Tennessee's Howard Baker Jr., 50, the ranking Republican on the Senate Watergate committee, was passed over by Gerald Ford for the vice-presidential nomination—in what now seems to have been a blunder. Baker, intensely ambitious and able, may well become an active candidate for the top job. Still another possibility, though he begins from a small base, is Iowa's enormously popular Governor Robert D. Ray, a tireless campaigner who often ends a day of politicking with a family



TENNESSEE SENATOR HOWARD BAKER JR.

snack at an ice-cream parlor. He will be only 49 when his fourth term—an Iowa record—ends in January 1979.

Missouri's attorney general John C. Danforth, 40, easily won the U.S. Senate seat long held by Democrat Stuart Symington; by the size of his victory, Danforth almost automatically becomes a G.O.P. force to be reckoned with. So does Illinois' new Governor James R. ("Big Jim") Thompson, 40, the tough

prosecutor who swamped the hand-picked nominee of the Daley machine.

Some moderate veterans inevitably will be talked about: Illinois' Senator Charles Percy, 57, who has never quite caught on in the Presidential sweepstakes; Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson, 56, who has a fussy image, and William Ruckelshaus, 44, who, along with Richardson, resigned from the Justice Department during Richard Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre, and who now lacks a political base.

The Republicans may also cast an eye toward Texas, where former Governor John Connally, 59, the backslid Democrat, has his eyes on 1980. A spell-binding speaker who looks as well as talks like a President (at least a Texas-style President), he stumped the Lone-Star State with Ford and traveled nationwide on behalf of his new party's congressional candidates. Big John has many assets, including an idea (usually conservative) to match almost every problem and plenty of free time and money. But Ford's loss of Texas, on top of Connally's old wheeler-dealer reputation, has hurt him badly.

At some lower elective levels, Republicans have lesser prospects. There is no chance that they can overcome the

huge Democratic majority in the House of Representatives in 1978. In the Senate, elementary arithmetic will work against the G.O.P.: two years from now, more Republican seats (17) than Democratic (16) will be at hazard. But Republicans will have a chance that year to make dramatic gains in Governors' chairs. Only seven G.O.P. incumbents will be up for re-election, but fully 22 incumbent Democratic Governors must place their performance records on the line by '78. Possible G.O.P. gains include Maryland, where Marvin Mandel is still trying to stay out of jail on corruption charges and Colorado, where Richard Lamm has seen his support steadily erode.

In one sense, the Republican loss of the White House may be turned to an advantage. At least until 1980, the G.O.P. will be able to concentrate its fire on Democrats in control at all levels of government. Explains Political Analyst Richard Scammon: "With uni-government, monopoly control by one party, people can blame everything, anything—from inflation to the fact that their daughter ran away with the postman—on the Democrats. Then the Republicans can make gains again."

Goodbye to Jerry

In the end, Gerald Ford could not quite bring it off. But he came achingly close to duplicating the upset victory of the fighting underdog he so much admired, Harry Truman, and he cannot be faulted for not trying. From the beginning, it was a long shot—an accidental President swept into office on a wave of scandal, stuck with the worst recession since World War II, confronted with a charismatic opponent in a bitter primary fight and then with an all-things-to-all-people Democrat in the general election.

To try to overcome Carter's massive lead, Ford's strategists put together a detailed campaign plan in the weeks before the Republican Convention. The carefully crafted 120-page document advised the President to resist his natural impulse to campaign and instead to stay put in the White House. He lacked the style to win on the hustings, his best bet was to appear presidential while Carter got into trouble on the road. "You cannot overcome the Carter lead on your own no matter what you do," the report warned with almost brutal candor. "You are not now perceived as being a strong, decisive leader by anywhere near a majority of the American people. You cannot possibly win without a highly disciplined and directionalized campaign."

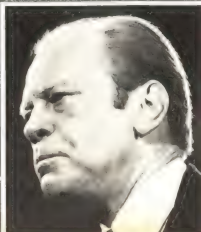
Urged to challenge Carter to debate, Ford did so in his rafter-ringing acceptance speech. Says Houston Lawyer James Baker, Ford's third and best campaign chairman: "Even if you concede that we might have lost two out of three debates, I would argue that we still got more out of the challenge than we lost, because the American people had an opportunity to see that Carter was all over the place on the issues."

Ford stumbled some, but he was not to blame for the damaging investigation of his campaign finances by the Watergate special prosecutor; the inquiry that plagued his campaign for three weeks was prompted by a single informant, whose identity is still not known. Ford's chief campaign asset was probably his character. The President appeared straightforward and reliable. Only his pardon of Nixon was held against him as a moral question mark. Ford hoped that his openness would have more appeal to the voters than Carter's enigmas.

It was not to be. Ford was deprived of what he most wanted in life: to gain the nation's highest office on his own, not to go down in history as an accidental President. Unprepared for defeat, Ford has no plans for the future. He has mused about taking an academic post, perhaps at his alma mater, the University of Michigan. His friends in Grand Rapids hope he will visit there often, but they realize that he is likely to remain in Washington, the city that has absorbed so much of his life and energy. He might return to law. A position in a prestigious firm would let him stay in touch with the Republican political and business establishment. It would also help him to care for his ailing wife, whose health was not helped by the grueling campaign, and his four children, all at least partially dependent on him financially.

Being Jerry Ford, he will be a good loser—but a residue of bitterness is inevitable. He was fully convinced he could win the race and he disdained his opponent. There is no chance that he will make another try for the presidency—and almost none that he will seek any other elective office. In Republican Party councils, he will be welcomed as an elder, respected statesman. He did nothing to disgrace himself as President or campaigner. As he claimed, he restored trust and integrity to the presidency. And that was no accident.

DEFEATED PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD





From an Irish Pat to a Dixie Lee

There were, of course, plenty of other races besides the big one, and in many communities interest in them ran high. The Democrats went into the election with overwhelming majorities in the Senate, the House of Representatives and the nation's statehouses. Some faces changed, but when the votes were counted, those majorities stayed firm.

The Senate

The political novices included a 70-year-old semantist in California, a former astronaut in New Mexico, a rancher in Wyoming and a tax lawyer in Utah. All are conservative Republicans, and all unceremoniously ousted liberal Democratic Senators—including two three-termers—from their seats. But the Senate's only Conservative, James Buckley of New York, was swamped by a left-of-

center Democrat. So were right-leaning Republicans in Maryland and Tennessee, and Nebraska elected its first Democratic Senator in four decades.

Nonetheless, when the crazy-quilt pattern woven by 33 individualistic state electorates is stitched together next January, the 95th Senate will probably not differ much in ideology and not at all in party makeup from its predecessor. Though winning seven seats from the Democrats, the Republicans dropped seven of their own. Thus the 62%-to-38% Democratic margin remains as lodged as before the 1976 campaigns.

Some hardy Democratic perennials bloomed again at the polls. Hubert

DeConcini over Sam Steiger in Arizona, Congressman Spark Matsunaga over former Governor William Quinn in Hawaii, Congressman Paul Sarbanes over Incumbent Glenn Beall in Maryland and Omaha Mayor Edward Zorinsky over John McCollister in Nebraska. Some of the most intriguing races that produced new faces:

NEW YORK: ELOQUENT CHERUB

"You'll know I'm there." That was the pitch for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's TV spots, and it is the campaign pledge most certain to be kept. Making his presence felt has never been a problem for the blustery onetime bartender who lived in New York City's Hell's Kitchen, made his way to Harvard, became one of the nation's leading urbanologists, served four Presidents, and culminated against the Arabs and the Third World as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Democrat Moynihan won over soft-spoken, engaging Republican-Conservative James Buckley, who leaves the Senate after one competent but unremarkable term, by a solid 54%-46% majority. That was because the suicidal tendencies of the faction-ridden state Democratic Party were largely overcome, hostility from blacks diminished, and a shortage of money (for more than a month Moynihan was unable to air radio and TV commercials) proved not to be a major factor. Even though Moynihan banged his head and wrenched his neck when his small plane hit an air pocket, and had to spend three precious days recuperating, he easily made up the lost time. For his part, the normally tough and courteous Buckley turned tiger, depicting Moynihan as a fuzzy-minded liberal professor whose wild spending schemes would cost wage-earning families of four \$63 a week in new taxes.

But New York is hospitable ground for Moynihan's New Deal-ish stands on unemployment, national health insurance and other social legislation. Buckley was never able to shake his image as a far right winger so wedded to an anti-Government philosophy that he even opposed federal aid to financially strapped New York City in the early stages of its fiscal crisis.

As for Moynihan—with his long forelock that seems forever (and designedly) askew, his cherubic face, well-upholstered 6 ft 4 in. frame and congenial inability to resist controversy—he can be counted upon to enliven the Senate with rhetorical flourishes worthy of such famous orators as Daniel Webster or even Everett Dirksen.

TENNESSEE: ANTI-CANDY POPULIST

Too shrewd to rely totally on Jimmy Carter's coattails, Democrat James Sasser decided to run hard against in-



TENNESSEE'S SASSER, MISSOURI'S DANFORTH & NEW YORK'S MOYNIHAN (BELOW)



Humphrey of Minnesota, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Edmund Muskie of Maine, Scoop Jackson of Washington, New Jersey's Harrison Williams, West Virginia's Robert Byrd and Mississippi's John Stennis all won easily. So did Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, the Watergate committee's Republican hair shirt. But one of the Senate's most famous names will be missing. In a stunning defeat, Robert Taft Jr., son and namesake of Ohio's "Mr. Republican," lost to Millionaire Businessman Howard Metzenbaum, whom he had defeated six years ago in another close battle.

The Republicans who picked up Democratic seats included ex-Astronaut Harrison Schmitt over Joseph Montoya in New Mexico, Rancher Malcolm Wallop over Three-Term Veteran Gale McGee in Wyoming, Tax Lawyer Orrin Hatch over Frank Moss in Utah and former Navy Secretary John Chafee over Richard Lorber in Rhode Island. Among the Democrats who gained Republican seats: Tucson Attorney Dennis

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explored and worshipped... together**

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Now, in addition to the full-size Ford LTD, Ford also offers LTD's kind of quality and luxury in a sportier, trimmer car that's priced and handles like a mid-size.

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Plush, comfortable seats. Tastefully elegant appointments. The satisfying luxury and the high level of workmanship that's become an LTD trademark.



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a trimmer mid-size price and nimble handling, LTD II still gives you six-passenger comfort.

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hurt by disclosures of illegal Gulf Oil contributions to one of his House races. To remedy that, the heir to a '57 Varieties' fortune unleashed an avalanche of greenbacks—mostly his own. It was sufficient to bury Democratic Congressman William Green despite Green's support from organized labor and the powerful big-city machines. Heinz's campaign outlay (well over \$2 million) was the largest sum spent on a Senate race this year and it kept Heinz on the tube throughout the campaign. Meanwhile, Green was forced to suspend his television commercials for ten crucial days in October for lack of money.

The two candidates—both 38 and both articulate and able—staged a Pien campaign. Green's commercials carried the tagline *MAN AGAINST THE MONEY*—though the Democrat spent nearly \$1 million himself. Green is a bitter enemy of Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo, but Heinz depicted Green as an unwholesome machine politician, captive of the Philadelphia Democratic organization that his late father (whom Green succeeded in Congress) controlled for years.

In the Senate, Heinz will probably continue to build on his reputation as an independent thinker and a hard worker. Like Scott, Heinz will probably tie in with such G.O.P. moderates as Illinois' Charles Percy.

MICHIGAN: SINNER BUT A WINNER

"This country doesn't elect saints to the U.S. Congress," cried a union supporter of Democratic Congressman Don Riegle. 38 Michigan voters accepted that easily supportable claim. Riegle, whose tape-recorded pillow talk with an unpaid former woman staffer highlighted the campaign (*TIME*, Nov. 1), will succeed the retiring Philip Hart when the Senate convenes next January. For a time the incident that surfaced in the anti-Riegle Detroit *News* seemed to tip the election in the direction of Republican Congressman Marvin Esch.

But Riegle delivered an effective "Checkers"-style explanation on TV. He apologized for his indiscretion, played on a backlash against the *News*, and obviously convinced many voters that the 1969 incident, which occurred when his first marriage was breaking up, should not be the prime issue on which to judge him. "He almost had me in tears," said William McLaughlin, state Republican chairman. "If he keeps going he'll have everybody believing it was Esch on the tapes." Riegle also produced a TV spot similar to one used by Bob Dole in his 1974 Senate race: a billboard is shown, with mud being thrown at it, then falling off as a voice extols the candidate's virtues.

The able but low-key Esch, 49, entered Congress with Riegle in 1967 when both were Republicans (Riegle switched parties in 1973). Though a former speech teacher, Esch was no match for his foe

as a speaker, or in stirring interest in the issues, on most of which he is more conservative than Riegle—an activist liberal and author of an expose of Washington called *O'Congress*. Perhaps Don Riegle's biggest plus: the support of organized labor, which had opposed him in the primary as a Donnie-comelately

CALIFORNIA: FRESHMAN—AGE 70

In a major victory that reflected voter frustration with ordinary politics and ordinary politicians, Republican S.I. Hayakawa ousted Democrat John Tunney from his U.S. Senate seat. When the tart-tongued Hayakawa takes the oath of office next January, he will be—at 70—one of the oldest freshman Senators in the history of the Senate.

His age and far-right views apparently bothered California voters little. More troublesome was that Tunney answered every question put to him in voluble Senatorialese, appeared overanxious to please, and shifted views on such major issues as natural-gas deregulation and

national health insurance. On TV, Tunney, despite his reputation as a swinging, divorced playboy, seemed uptight, while Hayakawa displayed a jaunty—and politically effective—cool.

Hayakawa, a teacher and a writer on semantics, had been best known for his trademark tam-o'-shanter and his boldness in quelling dissident student demonstrators during the turbulent late 60s, when he was president of San Francisco State College. On the issues, he sounded more or less right wing and eccentric. Once he called for sending unarmed U.S. troops, who could be armed if necessary, to southern Africa under U.N. auspices to prevent a bloodbath there. He expressed open disdain for homosexuals and expressed misgivings about a California law prohibiting business collusion with the Arab boycott as an unwarranted interference with free enterprise. Among the more intriguing questions of the next few years: what the tradition-minded Senate will do to Hayakawa, and vice versa.

The House: Spirited Still

The House of Representatives underwent some plastic surgery at the polls, emerging with a somewhat younger and more attractive look. But beneath the cosmetic changes, the House remains heavily Democratic in soul and spirit. The so-called Watergate babies generally survived, and Democrats showed a net gain of one seat (to 292 against 143 Republicans).

TIME TO RETIRE

For reasons ranging from age to political weariness to lust for higher office, a record number of incumbent Congressmen—37 Democrats and 17 Republicans—did not even run for reelection. Perhaps the best-known member to retire was House Speaker Carl Albert, 68, the only nationally known native of Bug Tussie, Okla. The seat he



ARKANSAS' JIM TUCKER & NEW JERSEY'S HELEN MEYNER, ABOVE, OKLAHOMA'S WES WATKINS





House and 17 in the new. Two star-quality Democrats—New York's brassy Bella Abzug and Hawaii's pert Patsy Mink—gave up their seats in unsuccessful attempts to win Senate nominations. Abzug will be replaced by New York City Councilman Theodore S. Weiss, 48, who rejected suggestions that he vacate his Democratic nomination and let Abzug reclaim her old job. Mink's successor is Democrat Daniel Akaka, 51, a former aide to Hawaii's Governor George Ariyoshi.

In New Jersey, incumbent Democrat Helen Meyner, 47, wife of a former Governor, won her second term after a campaign in which she graciously told

her of winners remains about the same. Georgia's Democrat Andrew Young, 44, one of the brightest members of the House and one of Jimmy Carter's closest associates, Texas' stentorian Democrat Barbara Jordan, 40, and aggressive Democrat Shirley Chisholm, 51, of New York all won re-election handsily—as expected. Another easy winner, Memphis Democrat Harold E. Ford, 31, heir to a family undertaking business, who had eked out a 1974 victory by less than 1,000 votes. This time he won by 60% of the vote.

PLENTY OF SCANDALS

Personal scandal clearly hurt some candidates, but not others. Arkansas' Democratic Representative Wilbur Mills, longtime chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, retired after drowning his career in Washington's Tidal Basin. His successor is State Attorney General Jim Guy Tucker, 32, a moderate. New South Democrat who is considered to be a rising political star, Ohio's power-minded Democrat Wayne L. Hays, 65, was undone by his tattle-tale mistress, Elizabeth Ray. Democratic State Senator Douglas Applegate, 48, was elected in a tough fight against Republican Ralph R. McCoy, an engineer by profession, and Steubenville Mayor William Crabbe, an Independent.

In New Jersey, Democratic Incumbent Henry Helstoski, 51, who is under indictment on charges that he accepted bribes to help illegal aliens remain in the U.S., lost in an upset. The winner, Republican Harold C. Hollenbeck, 38, a former state representative who studied seventh-grade English under Helstoski, then a teacher, in East Rutherford.

Utah Democrat Allan T. Howe, 49, at least had the courage of his conviction—on charges of having propositioned two Salt Lake City streetwalkers (both of whom, as it turned out, were police decoys). A Mormon, Howe refused to withdraw and ended up sharing the Democratic vote with another Democrat, Daryl McCarty, a write-in candidate with organization support. Both men lost to Republican Dan Marriott, 37, a political novice who grew up with a severe speech impediment. "When I was in the sixth grade," he recalls, "I was in a play, and I rode out on the stage as Paul Revere and announced, 'The Bwits-ah are coming across the wiver.' Then I tripped over my stick horse and fell down." Marriott overcame his handicap to become a \$1 million-a-year insurance salesman.

Another loser was Missouri Democrat Morgan Maxfield, 35, who ran a campaign in which he gave voters the impression that he was 1) a self-made man, 2) a graduate of Harvard Business School and 3) a swinging bachelor. During the closing weeks of the campaign it was disclosed that Maxfield (1) was the son of a prosperous Texas physician, 2) had only attended a six-week busi-

WINNERS: OHIO'S OKAR (ABOVE), GEORGIA'S YOUNG & UTAH'S MARRIOTT.



ness school. "Let the best man win, whom-ever she may be." Republican Challenger William Schluter passed out thousands of I'M A SCHLUTER ROOTER buttons, in hopes that the voters might learn how to pronounce his name—even though he had served eight years in the state senate.

Also in Ohio, Cleveland's Democratic city councilwoman Mary Rose Okar, 36, took over the vacated seat of Democrat James V. Stanton (who lost in his try for a Senate nomination) without Republican opposition. Okar won her decisive Democratic primary nomination by pointing out that among several major candidates, she was the only non-lawyer and the only woman.

In Maryland, Democrat Barbara A. Mikulski, 40, captured the seat vacated by Paul Sarbanes in his successful Senate run, and she promises to enliven the House for years. A fiery activist who got her political start by organizing community groups in southeast Baltimore, Mikulski insists that she has calmed down. But not by much. "Some people like to raise flowers; I like to raise hell," she says, adding, "I want to be the Amelia Earhart of Congress. I want to fly into the areas of the unknown, like she did, for the fun of it."



Despite increased voter participation, especially in the South, blacks failed to make any dramatic inroads. There were 16 blacks in the last House, and although 41 ran this time, the num-

ber of winners remains about the same. Georgia's Democrat Andrew Young, 44, one of the brightest members of the House and one of Jimmy Carter's closest associates, Texas' stentorian Democrat Barbara Jordan, 40, and aggressive Democrat Shirley Chisholm, 51, of New York all won re-election handsily—as expected. Another easy winner, Memphis Democrat Harold E. Ford, 31, heir to a family undertaking business, who had eked out a 1974 victory by less than 1,000 votes. This time he won by 60% of the vote.

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HOLDING THE LINE

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Brand W	19	1.3
Brand S Menthol	19	1.3
Brand S Menthol 100	19	1.2
Brand W 100	18	1.2
Brand M	18	1.1
Brand K Menthol	17	1.3
Brand M Box	17	1.0
Brand K	16	1.0

Other cigarettes that call themselves low in "tar"

	tar mg / cigarette	nicotine mg / cigarette
Brand D	15	1.0
Brand P Box	14	0.8
Brand D Menthol	14	1.0
Brand M Lights	13	0.8
Brand W Lights	13	0.9
Brand K Milds Menthol	13	0.8
Brand T Menthol	11	0.7
Brand T	11	0.6
Brand V Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V	11	0.7
Carlton Filter	*2	*0.2
Carlton Menthol	*1	*0.1
Carlton 70	*1	*0.1

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*As per cigarette tar & nicotine.

**Carlton
Menthol
1 mg. tar**



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2 mg. tar**

No wonder Carlton is the fastest growing of the top 25 brands.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

Menthol: 1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.
Filter: 2 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

ness course at Harvard and Ji was married and the father of two children. He was defeated by Republican Thomas Coleman, 33, a lawyer and state representative.

On the other hand, Florida Democrat Robert L.J. Sikes, 70, who earlier this year was reprimanded by his House colleagues for "financial misconduct," won a 19th term without Republican opposition. California's seven-term Democratic Representative Robert L. Leggett, 50, got lucky beyond belief under investigation for alleged payments from the South Korean government, he also admitted that he had supported his mistress and their two children in Washington. But the disclosure came after his district primary, in which he was easily renominated, and Republicans had put up only token opposition. Leggett thus won two more years of breathing space.

Among once familiar House names who were attempting a comeback was Long Island Democrat Allard Lowen-

stein, 47. He led the "Dump Johnson" movement in protest against the Viet Nam War in 1968 but lost his seat in 1970—and has been losing ever since. He was defeated by the same man who beat him in 1974 Republican John Wylder, 52, who described Lowenstein as "an ultraliberal, a constant loser and a notorious carpetbagger." Another comeback effort fell short in North Carolina, where former National League Pitcher Wilmer ("Vinegar Bend") Mizell, 45, a Republican Congressman from 1968 to 1974, was defeated again by Democrat Stephen L. Neal, 42, an heir to the R.J. Reynolds tobacco fortune.

Finally, the most prominent citizen of Grand Rapids could at least take consolation from the fact that his old House seat will again be held by a Republican. Democrat Richard E. Vander Veen, 53, who succeeded Gerald Ford in a special 1974 election, was defeated by the G.O.P.'s Harold Sawyer, 56, who had been an aggressive county prosecutor

Utah, Washington and West Virginia. A fresh face also won in North Carolina, where James Hunt, a New South Democrat with an awesome organization, overhwhelmed his G.O.P. opponent by a nearly 2-to-1 margin. Among the other intriguing victors

WEST VIRGINIA: NO CARPETBAGGER

Following one of the state's dullist campaigns in memory, Democrat John D. ("Jay") Rockefeller IV, 39, the nephew of Nelson Rockefeller and grandson of John D. Jr., swept to an almost 2-to-1 triumph over his Republican opponent, former Governor Cecil Underwood, 54. Rockefeller, who lost the Governor's race four years ago to Arch Moore, took no chances this time: he spent \$1.7 million to win last spring's primary and more than \$800,000 in this campaign. Nonetheless, he was able to defuse the wealth issue by suggesting that he was too rich to steal and by putting his assets into a blind trust.

Rockefeller, who moved to the state 13 years ago as an antipoverty worker, was finally able to put to rest the carpetbagger issue by emphasizing his four years of service as West Virginia's secretary of state and his two years as president of Wesleyan College in Buckhannon. "I am a West Virginian," insisted the New York City-born Democrat. "My kids were born here. Try and tell them they're not West Virginians."

ILLINOIS: MR. CLEAN V. MACHINE

James ("Big Jim") Thompson, 40, who in four years as U.S. Attorney put dozens of Mayor Daley's underlings into the slammer for various forms of corruption, easily knocked off another Daley lieutenant, jowly Democrat Michael Howlett, to win the state's governorship by more than a million votes. A Republican liberal, Thompson rolled up heavy majorities in conservative downstate Illinois and Chicago's suburbs; he even made inroads into the traditionally Democratic black wards of Chicago.

With his somewhat wooden speaking style, Thompson campaigned intelligently and energetically seven days a week. The strapping (6 ft. 6 in., 200 lbs.) Thompson also put on slacks and cowboy boots to appear more folksy. He pictured the genial but ineffectual Howlett, who had been Illinois' secretary of state, as the embodiment of old-style politics. Thompson now has his work cut out for him: he has only a two-year term and faces a cantankerous legislature controlled by the Democrats. But his smashing win has catapulted him into national prominence as a possible Republican presidential contender in 1980.

MISSOURI: POPULIST INSURGENT

Bright, personable Governor Christopher ("Kit") Bond, 37, was considered a rising star of the G.O.P. and a sure bet to gain a second term. But in the biggest

States: First Hurrahs



JAY ROCKEFELLER IN WEST VIRGINIA (ABOVE); ILLINOIS' JAMES THOMPSON (BELOW)



Entering election year '76, there were 36 Democratic Governors to only 13 Republicans and one independent, Maine's James Longley. In the 14 contests decided Tuesday, the Democrats triumphed in nine and the Republicans in five—a pickup of one statehouse for the Democrats. A pro-statehood candidate won office in Puerto Rico. A generally youthful group of G.O.P. hopefuls scored impressive wins in Delaware, Illinois and Vermont. The Republicans also re-elected their popular chief executive in Indiana, and returned to office for the third straight two-year stint Archconservative Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire on his single plank—no taxes. Democratic incumbents were re-elected in Arkansas, Montana and North Dakota, while new candidates won in Missouri, Rhode Island,

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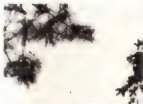


"When Armco's plant came to Longview, I had to hire more, too!"

Tommy Thompson had been owner and president of McGaha Manufacturing Company only a few months when Armco built a new plant at Longview, Texas, in 1975. Tommy and his five employees made wood products for crating and shipping. But from the beginning his specialty and Armco's needs went together. Today his company has expanded to nine employees and Armco is his major customer. His suppliers benefited too.

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In the next decade business is looked to for more than a million new jobs every year. But 5 cents on a dollar can't do it. Just a couple of cents more could. That's something to think about the next time you hear someone talking about industry's "fat profits." Armco Steel Corporation, General Offices, Dept. 146, Middletown, Ohio 45043.



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BAHAMAS

Nassau/Paradise Island Freeport/Lucaya The Out Islands

upset of Tuesday's gubernatorial races, he lost by less than a 1% margin to Democrat Joseph P. Teasdale, 40, a former prosecutor from Jackson County (which covers Independence and Kansas City). Known as "Walkin' Joe" after his unsuccessful trek around the state seeking the Democratic gubernatorial nomination four years ago, Teasdale hammered away at the Republican in debates and TV ads, painting him as a "corporate man" with ties to big-monied interests and a do-nothing chief executive "removed from the mainstream of life."

The tough-talking Teasdale favored a constitutional amendment exempting food and drugs from the state sales tax, proposed upping taxes on "giant corporations" to raise higher new revenues, and argued for stronger controls on utility charges. Missouri voters, in a populist mood, seemed to like his ideas—and turned a rising star into a falling one.

DELAWARE: SCION ON A BUDGET

Three-term Congressman Pierre ("Pete") Du Pont IV, 41, handily defeated incumbent Democratic Governor Sherman Tribbitt, 53, by a vote of 58% to 42%. Although a millionaire in his own right (he is a scion of Delaware's first family), Du Pont actually had campaign financial troubles; he refused to accept contributions of more than \$100 and limited his spending to a modest \$125,000.

A slender, aristocratic graduate of Exeter, Princeton and Harvard Law School, Du Pont stumped the state in a 1973 Oldsmobile Cutlass that was driven by a college student. He preached fiscal integrity and charged Tribbitt with running the statehouse for partisan advantage. Du Pont told his audiences, "We have government of the politicians, by the politicians and for the politicians." Du Pont promises to run a lean, efficient administration, but he faces the likelihood of a large deficit and the certainty of a low bond rating in the state of Delaware.

WASHINGTON: FEISTY NEOPHYTE

Dixy Lee Ray, 62, who was the first woman to head the Atomic Energy Commission, became the second woman in U.S. political history to win a statehouse without having a husband who preceded her (the other is Connecticut's Ella Grasso). * Democrat Ray edged out her Republican opponent, County Executive John Spellman, 49, by about 125,000 votes.

A former professor of zoology at the University of Washington, Dixy Ray, an admitted political neophyte, was a surprise winner of last September's Democratic primary. Ray, a small, chunky woman who lives with two dogs in a pre-fab home on an island, waged an energetic, 18-hour-a-day campaign on a

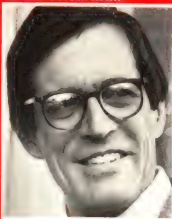
*Governors Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, Miriam Ferguson of Texas and Lurleen Wallace of Alabama all had husbands in office before them.



PUERTO RICO'S ROMERO BARCELÓ



WASHINGTON'S DIXY LEE RAY



DELAWARE'S PIERRE DU PONT

skimpy budget to defeat the less colorful, pipe-smoking Spellman. As Governor, Ray is expected to pursue a generally conservative course, trimming the state budget and considering an income tax to replace other levies if the need arises. Predictably, she favors development of nuclear energy and revising upward the limits on the size of oil tankers on Puget Sound.

VERMONT: COOL CONSERVATIVE

Richard Snelling, the Republican majority leader in the statehouse, brushed aside sharp-tongued conservative Democrat Stella Hackel, 49. Vermont's state treasurer, to become Governor by a vote of 53% to 41%. It turned out to be one of the roughest gubernatorial races in Vermont's history. A conservative himself, Snelling continually accused Hackel of "trying to seduce the ultraconservative" wing of his party with her relentlessly shrill antiwelfare rhetoric.

Hackel retorted that Snelling was "a product of political recycling" because of his defeat in the 1966 gubernatorial race and his long term in the state legislature. But Snelling, a millionaire ski-equipment manufacturer, came across to the voters as more enlightened and cooler-headed than Hackel; he was thus able to attract moderate Democrats alienated by Hackel's strident and reactionary views. As Governor, Snelling is expected to work hard to attract new business to Vermont and to downplay environmental considerations in favor of economic growth.

PUERTO RICO: STATEHOOD BACKER

In a surprising upset victory, Mayor Carlos Romero Barceló, 44, the New Progressive Party mayor of San Juan, narrowly beat the reserved, telegenic, incumbent one-term Governor of Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernández Colon of the Popular Democratic Party, by an electoral count of 49% to 46.5%. Candidates of the two leftist and pro-independence parties received approximately 6% of the total popular vote.

A blustery speaker and flesh presser in the best Latino tradition, Romero capitalized on the island's deepening economic woes: unemployment is hovering around 20% and economic growth has flattened out to the point of stagnation. Romero has proposed an eight-point economic program to revive private sector confidence in the economic future of Puerto Rico, among other things, he wants the government to sell to private enterprise the island's telephone company and maritime shipping authority, both acquired under Hernández. Romero is an advocate of statehood for Puerto Rico, but he will undoubtedly move slowly to change the island's commonwealth status because of the unique tax privileges that it provides, including exempting all residents from paying federal income taxes.

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LOCAL ISSUES

Bets, Bottles and Bullets

In addition to all the battles for office high and low across the nation, there were some fierce campaigns on a far-rago of issues. Casinos, handguns, disposable bottles and cans, nuclear safeguards, the size of local governments were among the hundreds of objects of referenda, initiatives and propositions on city and state ballots. Voters in Maryland confronted 21 issues on which their judgment was sought, those in Massachusetts nine, in Georgia 28, for example. Verdicts on some of the most interesting and important:

GAMBLING: A VEGAS EAST

New Jersey voters decided by a large margin to allow gambling casinos to be built and operated in Atlantic City. The referendum on gambling was one of the hottest issues in the state, arousing the strong opposition of religious leaders and law-enforcement officials who warned that turning the beach-resort city into a Las Vegas East would attract not only tourists but also organized crime, prostitution and loan sharks. The Committee to Rebuild Atlantic City spent \$1 million arguing that casino gambling would resuscitate the dowdy, declining resort and bring much-needed revenue into the city and the state. Two years ago, voters turned down a proposal that would have allowed casinos to be established anywhere in New Jersey. This time the reverse vote may have been due to the fact that the gambling will be confined to Atlantic City, and to the provision in the gambling proposal that all state revenue from the casinos (estimated to be \$17.7 million by 1980) will go to aid programs for the elderly and disabled.

NUCLEAR ENERGY: SIX NAYS

In the six states of Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Ohio, Oregon and Washington, there were initiatives to put tight restrictions on the building of new nuclear-power plants. In a stunning defeat for the persistent foes of nuclear power, the initiatives lost across the board. All of the proposals contained the same two key provisions: 1) that utilities accept unlimited liability in the event of nuclear disaster, waiving the federally imposed limit of \$560 million for any one accident, and 2) that state legislatures certify—usually by two-

thirds majorities, which are difficult to get—that each proposed plant meet stringent safety requirements. But the environmentalists were heavily outspent by utilities and other pro-nuclear forces who argued that crippling the construction of new plants would rob the U.S. of a necessary alternative to foreign oil as an energy source.

GUN CONTROL: SHOT DEAD

In Massachusetts, a pioneering effort to ban all handguns fell to a crushing defeat. The referendum proposal was aimed at the nation's most common murder weapon, the cheap Saturday Night Special; it would have limited possession of handguns to the police, the military and such organizations as museums and historical societies. The proposal was put on the ballot by a volunteer citizens' organization called People Versus Handguns led by popular Middlesex County Sheriff John Buckley. It was also supported by much of the state's press, like the influential *Boston Globe*, which in one editorial published the roster of 73 people, including two children (ages two and 14), who had been killed by handguns since Jan. 1, 1975. But Massachusetts was blanket-

ed by pro-gun propaganda put out by the National Rifle Association and Smith & Wesson, the nation's largest manufacturer of Saturday Night Specials, which happens to be located in Springfield, Mass.

FARM LABOR: CHAVEZ'S DEFEAT

In California, bitterly disputed Proposition 14 was defeated—a voter decision that could provoke new trouble in the longstanding conflict between the state's farm workers and growers. The proposition, sponsored by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union, would have reified in the state constitution Governor Jerry Brown's path-making solution to California's labor problems. In 1975, at Brown's urging, the California legislature guaranteed farm workers the right to select union representatives by secret ballot. The legislature also created an Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to administer the elections, some two-thirds of which were won by the U.F.W., the rest by Chavez's bitter union rival, the Teamsters.

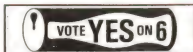
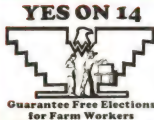
The problem for the U.F.W. was that the growers, irritated by the ALRB's pro-Chavez tilt, mobilized the third of the legislature necessary to block additional appropriations, thus bringing implementation of the law to a screeching halt. Chavez decided to circumvent the legislature, trying via Proposition 14 to get the law added as an amendment to the constitution. Growers' interests, in the face of the U.F.W.'s well-organized campaign, lifted their opposition to ALRB funding to deprive Chavez of his main issue and, in the end, his cause.

The environmentalists succeeded in Michigan, Maine and Massachusetts in passing bans on throwaway bottles and cans. In general, however, more referendums were turned down by voters than accepted. Massachusetts, for example, rejected a measure to mandate a flat rate for both residential and industrial users of electricity. In Florida, the so-called One Percent Amendment would have limited the size of the state bureaucracy to 1% of the population (the bureaucracy is now 1.16%); it lost. So did an attempt in Oklahoma, the second in four years, to allow liquor to be sold by the drink in hotels and restaurants. The well-financed campaign of the "drys" against booze claimed—with apparent effect, though no basis in fact—that liquor is a factor in breast cancer.

SIX BATTLEGROUND: FARM WORKERS, ROULETTE, NUKES, SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIALS, THROWAWAYS & ELECTRIC BILLS

"Yes"
Casinos-
Atlantic City
Only.

VOTE YES ☒ 9 FOR
SAFE ENERGY



Vote YES Question 7
for lower electric bills.

RHODESIA

No Time for Trembling Knees

It was one of those historic opportunities for high diplomacy that so often have been seized upon or lost in the marbled Council Chamber of Geneva's Palais des Nations. Once again, it seemed, peace or more war hung in the balance. Bitter political enemies in Rhodesia met face to face for the first time in what may be a last chance for a peaceful transfer of power from the ruling white minority to the black majority. Despite the mutual suspicion and distrust that permeated the chamber, the fact that the four leading black nationalists and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, a white, were willing to meet at all was at least one encouraging sign. Said Conference Chairman Ivor Richard, Britain's United Nations ambassador: "The impossible has now become a matter of negotiation." From the beginning it was clear that the bargaining would be long and hard.

The common basis for the talks, as Richard emphasized, is that all sides now accept that Rhodesia is to become



ROBERT MUGABE

an independent country under majority rule within two years. But while the black delegations contend that all details for the transfer of power are up for negotiation, Smith insists that he came to Geneva solely to fill in the details of the so-called Kissinger plan, announced last September. According to Smith, Kissinger's scheme would set up a two-tier interim government in which whites would share power with blacks but would remain dominant during the changeover (TIME cover, Oct. 11).

Smith's claim that the Kissinger package is an inviolable whole prompt-



THE REV. NDABANINGI SITHOLE

JOSHUA NKOMO
Negotiating the impossible.

ly ran into vehement opposition from the black nationalists. With some of them coming directly from Rhodesian prisons or guerrilla bases in the bush, they were in no mood to approve a transition plan that would give Smith the opportunity to dominate events in Rhodesia for two more years. The African National Council's delegation, led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, reflected much of the blacks' apprehension when it warned that Smith had come to Geneva merely to "carry out a gigantic fraud aimed at confusing world opinion."

At the conference, the four black delegations studiously ignored the white Rhodesians. Nonetheless, the first two sessions were remarkably free of either the histrionics or the rude scenes that were feared by some of the Western ob-



BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA

servers Joshua Nkomo, a moderate and the elder statesman of Rhodesian black nationalism, spoke first. To emphasize his conviction that Smith must play no significant role in the transition period, Nkomo stated that the conference should be one "strictly between Zimbabweans [Zimbabwe is the black African name for Rhodesia of whatever color and the United Kingdom," which still technically retains sovereignty over Rhodesia. He vowed that there would be no "racial revenge on the white settlers," for "it is not our intention to substitute one form of evil for another."

Even the militancy of Robert Mugabe, the black leader with the closest ties to the guerrillas, was tempered as he expressed "preparedness to pursue the method of peaceful negotiations." He quickly cautioned, though, that if the current talks failed there would be no choice but to continue "war in the pursuit of peace." The most conciliatory of the four blacks, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, credited the Rhodesians for having the good sense to accept the "new political reality" and the principle of majority rule.

Ringing Rhetoric. Understandably, there was also ringing African rhetoric. "We have come not in a spirit of give and take—only to take—take our country!" exclaimed the diminutive Bishop Muzorewa, perhaps Rhodesia's most popular black politician. Like the other black leaders, he demanded that the transition period be cut to one year and that in place of the appointive two-tier interim government there be a popularly elected Prime Minister and a Cabinet, with seats distributed according to the outcome of the election. Smith was extraordinarily brief, merely repeating his well-known views that he expected the conference to get on with the business of ratifying the Kissinger package.



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too much
on highways."**

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73% of all Americans live in metropolitan areas. Normally, they drive city streets. On vacation they usually drive the interstates: new, scenic, wide-laned, landscaped. They read now and then of huge highway appropriations. And pay gasoline taxes to fund such programs. The taxes seem high and the roads adequate. Understandably some ask: "Do we need to spend more for highways?"

The other 27% must travel rural roads. 84% of all U.S. roads are rural: 3.2 million miles. Many are narrow, pot-holed, cracked, blind-cornered, unshouldered. They link small towns and farms together: our food raisers. Food supplies and costs are influenced in part by these rural roads. Yet, most were built for light loads only. They cross 200,000 bridges—many deficient—and there are 39,000 railroad crossings, less than half with warning lights. Such archaic roads are wasteful—slowing the movement of supplies to farms and crops to market. And they are dangerous. No wonder rural road users are calling for improvements.

What's the answer? Responsible people agree we shouldn't make every country road a super highway. But, neglect of rural roads affects the ability of farmers to deliver food to market, increasing costs. America needs a transportation system that gives proper emphasis to urban and rural roads, to expressways and to mass transit.


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**"We're not spending
enough on our
rural roads."**

THE WORLD

Even as the delegates in Geneva were conferring, in Rhodesia the guerrilla war against the whites intensified, presumably to demonstrate black nationalist military strength as a bargaining lever. October was the bloodiest month in the nearly four years of fighting, with a death toll of 181 guerrillas, 20 security-force soldiers, twelve white and 88 black civilians. At a dozen points along the border, Mozambique-based guerrillas fired rockets and mortars at white settlements inside Rhodesia. From Zambian bases, other guerrillas attacked a motel in the tourist center of Victoria Falls, killing one white guest and wounding two others. In retaliation for the accelerated insurgency, Rhodesian security forces supported by helicopters, armored vehicles and aging bombers swept at least 50 miles into Mozambique to strike at guerrilla camps; it is believed that at least 500 blacks were killed.

Rhodesia's 274,000 whites well recognize that the guerrilla fighting will probably get worse if the conference fails. Their mood has grown more anxious in the past month. In Salisbury, a Baptist minister intoned on a radio service that "surely these are times not for pale faces or trembling knees." Rhodesian President John Wrathall called on all his countrymen to pray every day for the success of the conference.

For the conference to have a chance of success, however, its momentum must accelerate from the leisurely gait of the first two sessions, which together took less than two hours. Alluding to this pace, Ian Smith announced that he planned to return to Salisbury to tend to pressing Rhodesian affairs of state, noting that he could fly back to Geneva when needed. African delegates, too, complained that they were running out of time and money in costly Geneva. Kissinger, apparently afraid that the conference might become bogged down, dispatched Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs William Schaefele to Geneva to emphasize the strong U.S. desire for a peaceful settlement.

Shifting Focus. Meanwhile, convinced that plenary sessions at this stage would merely encourage the delegations to stick stubbornly to their proclaimed positions, Chairman Richard shifted his focus. He held a series of bilateral talks to identify grounds for possible compromises and then persuaded the heads of the five delegations to discuss with him a specific date for Rhodesian independence. Although nothing substantive was decided at the first of the informal sessions—and though fixing a date would not get to the heart of those issues blocking a transfer of power—Richard at least got the delegation heads to sit literally elbow to elbow around a circular table and address each other directly. With more informal meetings to follow, the Geneva Conference had been kept on track.

Ian Smith: 'Otherwise, God Help Us'

Shortly after the conference opened, TIME's London bureau chief Herman Nickel talked with Rhodesia's Ian Smith at his delegation's headquarters in Geneva's Hôtel du Rhône. Excerpts from the interview.

On black suspicions about Smith's sincerity.

I believe this is part of the tactic of the extremists. They are deliberately going out of their way to say that I can't be trusted. They don't believe I mean what I said. How was it that a few months ago I was saying something completely different? This doesn't connote sincerity, you see. Well, they are correct that a few months previously I

On Kissinger's proposal for a half-white, half-black council of state to supersede a black interim government.

I think it's a workable solution. I believe that once you get Rhodesians working together, black and white, you're going to get a lot more sense out of [the blacks] than you're getting out of them now. They're just sparring for position here, playing to the gallery. Once the decision has been made, and we go back to Rhodesia, I believe these people will take their eyes off the gallery and start working in Rhodesia for Rhodesia. There is a distinct possibility that this is going to work, and work well.

On Smith's contention that his position would be immeasurably strengthened if the blacks refuse Kissinger's package.

I would say that there is an understanding with the countries with whom we are trying to work. It is my very strong feeling that if the conference fails because of the intransigence and extremism of the blacks, then we can only come out of this in a better and stronger position. I can't give you details, but from my assessment, after all we've been through, I believe we will get greater cooperation, greater support. But I should perhaps add this point: if we fail here, I would go straight back to Rhodesia in an attempt to pick this [negotiation] up and continue the exercise we have started.

On recent Rhodesian raids into Mozambique.

I have not yet had any direct information from Salisbury on this, but as long as terrorists attack, we reserve the right to hit them hard and to indulge in hot pursuit and to chase them back to where they've come from. I have no idea what effect that will have on the atmosphere of the talks. We have shown over the past two or three years that we can cope with terrorism very effectively. We have one of the most efficient small armies in the world. We still have a big reservoir of manpower, as yet untapped. Every month we are increasing the number of men who are under arms.

On the morale of Rhodesian whites.

All I can tell you is that I'm amazed at how we have managed to cope with the guerrillas so far. But it would be stupid of me to guarantee that we can indefinitely sustain the anti-guerrilla campaign. I believe we can; time will tell whether I am right or not. In Rhodesia, you have Rhodesians who are fighting



IAN SMITH AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IN GENEVA
"I am not prepared to think in terms of color."

was saying a different thing. However, I was forced to come to the conclusion that the free world was not going to go on giving us any support, that there wasn't much hope for Rhodesia if even our friends in the world weren't going to go on giving us any support. So that made me change my mind.

On his refusal to openly accept black majority rule.

I said to Dr. Kissinger that I am not prepared to think in Rhodesia in terms of color—black v. white. I still believe one must try to get the best people in Rhodesia together. These extremists believe you are going to get the blacks lined up on one side and the whites on the other. My intention is to get blacks and whites in Rhodesia working together and not against one another. Otherwise, God help us.

THE WORLD

for their own country, a country they love dearly

On Salisbury's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain.

It has given us the eleven best years of our lives. Overnight we created a virile young nation. Our economy is growing and expanding. I have heard economists from all over the world say that our economy over the past ten years has grown at double the pace it would have

if there had been no economic sanctions imposed against us. Had we not done it, we would have succumbed to what I believe to have been British blackmail. If we had tamely accepted that, it would have shown a distinct lack of backbone, and from then on, I am satisfied, the Rhodesian nation would have gone backward. So we have had a wonderful decade in which Rhodesia has grown much stronger and better able to face the kind of problems that we are now

facing up to. [As for the blacks], it has brought them to their senses.

On Smith's personal plans.

I see myself participating in the transitional government, not because I am dedicated to doing that, but because I happen to be the person in the saddle at the moment, and I believe it would be an advantage to Rhodesia to have somebody like myself assisting during that very difficult period

Ivor Richard: Man in the Middle

Dressed for the part, Ivor Richard, 44, Britain's Ambassador to the United Nations and currently chairman of the Rhodesian conference in Geneva, would make a splendidly old-fashioned John Bull. Burly, ebullient and pipe smoking, the bespectacled barrister is anything but timid—the description Nationalist Leader Joshua Nkomo applied to the British role in the negotiations. That much, at least, was made clear two days before the conference opened when Richard waded into what he called a “good verbal punch-up” with a member of an African nationalist delegation.

Complaining bitterly about Britain's colonial record in Rhodesia, the dele-

gate, Mukudzei Mudzi, exploded: “You just think we are a lot of damned niggers!” Barked back Richard: “You ought to know that word is not in my vocabulary, and you should not seek to put it there. Before we go any further with this meeting, I want you to withdraw that remark.” Mudzi backed off, and there were no hard feelings, especially after Richard learned that Mudzi had just been released from prison in Zambia, where he had been held since March 1975 without trial on suspicion of murdering another black leader. “I think it cleared the air,” Richard told TIME.

What upset black Rhodesian leaders was that Britain had not seen fit to send Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland to the conference. This omission seemed to confirm their long-held view that Britain, once again, was evading its responsibility for the Rhodesian drama. The African delegates hastened to make clear that their objections were not to Richard personally. Even Robert Mugabe, regarded as the most militant of the delegation leaders, stressed that “the view we hold is by no means an attack on the chairman.” Bishop Abel Muzorewa went further, saying, “I think he could become a tremendous chairman.”

Reflected Richard afterward “The first task I had to achieve was to try to put it over that they could trust me. I think we've got over that hump. I feel that Ian Smith feels exactly the same. If I can get the trust of the parties, then I can perform my real function, which is bridging.” It is a function that Richard regards as essential for the success of the conference. “To be frank,” he says, “what we'll be talking about around the table in the plenary sessions is less important than what's taking place quietly in my rooms in the Palais des Nations or in my hotel suite.”

In personality if not in rank, just about everyone agrees, in fact, that Richard is far better suited for the chairmanship than the rather remote, moody and brittle Crosland. The son of a coal-mining engineer, Richard was born in South Wales, where he became a Labor supporter, as he puts it, “almost by the time I had learned to talk.” He won a

scholarship to Cheltenham, a leading private school, then went on to Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1964. When he lost his seat in 1974, Harold Wilson dispatched him to the U.N., where his quick repartee, enormous stamina and warmth of personality immediately made their mark. Says one former aide: “His method, which befits the good barrister he is, is to persuade rather than dictate.” Adds a senior Foreign Office diplomat: “Had he become a member of the diplomatic service instead of a lawyer and politician, he would have risen to the top of the Foreign Office.”

When at his U.N. job, Richard rises early and likes to play a little Chopin on the grand piano in his Fifth Avenue apartment, which he and his wife Alison redecorated with contemporary art. Although a prodigious worker (“At 2 a.m. he's still going strong,” says one exhausted aide), he is a familiar figure at the bar in the delegates' lounge, quaffing huge amounts of beer.

A longtime advocate of decolonization in Africa and fair play for black and brown immigrants at home in Britain, Richard has been involved in African affairs as a minister in the defense department, later as opposition spokesman on Rhodesia and most recently at the U.N., where he got into a widely publicized conflict last year with his former American colleague Daniel Moynihan. Shook by Moynihan's attacks on the Third World, Richard likened him to “Lear raging amidst the storm on the blasted heath” and “Savarona in the role of an avenging angel preaching retribution and revenge.” Says Richard amiably but unrepentantly, “I disagreed with him on how one should treat the U.N.—whether it is a serious body in which one could have a sensible dialogue with the Third World. Pat seemed to take a different view.”

As for his job in Geneva, Richard frankly admits he hopes it will help him get back into the House of Commons. “If it goes well, obviously, some of the glitter is going to rub off,” he says. “If it goes badly, presumably a fair amount of odium will rub off. That's just a fact of life.” To the extent that his future depends on his success at the Rhodesian conference, what is good for Ivor Richard may very well be good for Britain.

RICHARD ARRIVING FOR SESSION IN GENEVA



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ITALY

The Stangata Dilemma

Like firemen dashing to douse a blaze, dozens of Italian Communist Party leaders have been fanning throughout Italy to calm rising discontent among the party's rank and file. For a long time, it seemed nothing could go wrong for the tightly disciplined, well-organized P.C.I., as it racked up increasingly impressive results in one election after another. But so many Communists in recent weeks have openly displayed skepticism or outright disapproval of their party's policies that the P.C.I. leadership faces its most serious internal problem in years.

At issue is the decision of Party Secretary Enrico Berlinguer to assure survival of Premier Giulio Andreotti's minority Christian Democratic government by a sophisticated tactic of "non-opposition" in the Chamber of Deputies. Berlinguer has had the P.C.I. Deputies (1227 of 6304) and Senators (116 of 315) abstain on key votes, thus lending implicit Communist support to unpopular government programs, including the *stangata* (sting)—the tough austerity measures that, among other things, have hiked the price of gasoline by 25% (bringing it to \$2.25 a gal. for super) and increased postal, electric and telephone rates. Communist leaders argue that giving passive support to Andreotti is an important step toward the party's goal of participating officially with the Christian Democrats in the government, the historic compromise.

Militant Action. Bewildered and sometimes even angry, an increasing number of Communists argue that they did not vote Communist in order to prop up the hated Christian Democrats. What most worries party leaders is militant action beyond their control—the scores of brief, unauthorized strikes and protests that have been taking place across the country. This discord reached even into the highest echelons of the party. At the mid-October session of the central committee, the frail, 76-year-old Luigi Longo, who was Berlinguer's predecessor as party boss, challenged the tactic of non-opposition because it put "the interests of the party in second place [merely] in order to show our national responsibility." He was countered by Giorgio Amendola, 69, a noted historian and essayist, who emphasized that Italy's current crisis (17% inflation, a \$20 billion budget deficit and \$16 billion in foreign debts) required the party to put the national interest and the fight against inflation ahead of anything else.

It was up to Berlinguer to find a tolerable compromise. He stressed that the P.C.I. had to prove that it could act responsibly. He added, however, that his tacit support of the government would continue only as long as the *stangata*'s sacrifices were accompanied by basic economic reforms that would signifi-



COMMUNIST BOSS ENRICO BERLINGUER



MILAN WORKERS PROTESTING THE STING

cantly alter Italian society. Said he: "There cannot be an austerity policy to return to things as they were." To no one's surprise, the central committee formally endorsed the Berlinguer line and, in accordance with the Leninist dictum of "democratic centralism," formally closed ranks. It also ordered up the current grass-roots "popularization" campaign to win support for austerity and the party line. As a consequence, rank-and-file comrades across the country have been heatedly discussing the issue with representatives from the party's central headquarters.

The P.C.I. faces the dilemma of a powerful Communist movement that is neither in opposition nor inside the government. On the one hand, if Berlinguer demands that Andreotti remove too much of the sting from austerity, the country's economy could collapse. On the other hand, if Berlinguer becomes too accommodating toward the government, discontent will multiply within P.C.I. ranks.

Tempted as they might be to savor the spectacle of open dissent within Communist ranks, the Christian Democrats and other parties are not congratulating themselves. They know that if the Communists cannot put across austerity measures to the workers, nobody can. For their part, the Communist leaders are unlikely to change tactics, despite the unrest. To start voting against the Christian Democrats on key issues would only guarantee the collapse of the government and could lead to another national election. Much of the electorate could blame the Communists for adding a political crisis to the economic one. Instead, Berlinguer hopes to intensify his demands that the party be given a more direct and visible role in making national policy. This might help resolve the *stangata* dilemma by demonstrating to skeptical party members that they in fact are gradually winning the political power they seek.

GREECE

Trafficking in Death

Ever since the civil war broke out in Lebanon 18 months ago, Athens has taken over much of devastated Beirut's former role as the center of commerce and trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Now, as TIME's Dean Britis has learned, Athens is also substituting for Beirut as a center for a grimmer international enterprise—*gunrunning*. [This report

They come by truck from all over Europe. Some arrive concealed in frozen sheep carcasses from Belgium. Others come hidden under the fenders of shiny new cars from West Germany. Still others arrive concealed within the false bottoms of crates filled with alarm clocks from Czechoslovakia. The hidden cargo is always the same: pistols, sub-machine guns, mortars and sometimes even rocket launchers. According to one estimate, one out of every ten trucks entering Greece carries contraband weapons. Says Greece's Maritime Minister Alexandros Papadogonas: "The Greek seas are simply a corridor for the vast trade in arms that is now going on in the eastern Mediterranean." In all, at least 10,000 illegal weapons have been confiscated by Greek authorities since the beginning of this year. "A mere dribble," sniffs one Western intelligence analyst, who estimates that the number of weapons flowing illegally through Greek ports can run as high as tens of thousands each month.

Free Ports. Driven from Lebanon by civil war, gunrunners are finding Greece's system of free ports ideal for their purposes. For example, goods delivered to the free ports of Salonika or Piraeus for transshipment are placed in sealed warehouses and are not liable to inspection. Some shipments intended for the Palestinians in Lebanon originate in Arab countries. Packed in cases that of-



CONFISCATED GUNS; SAVVOURAS (INSET)
Odd bedfellows.

ten identify the contents as fish or an equally harmless commodity, the weapons are shipped in roundabout ways, like from Benghazi to Hamburg to Athens, to avoid interception by Israeli patrol boats. Other weapons come from international arms merchants, who routinely sell to the highest bidder. A third major source is Eastern Europe, which acts as arms supplier to Soviet-backed parties in the Middle East. The recipients represent a who's who of revolutionary militant movements, starting with the P.L.O. and the Eritrean Liberation Front, dissident groups in the Gulf states, SWAPO and other smaller black African nationalist movements, and rebels in Pakistan's Baluchistan. The traffic reaches as far as Thailand and Burma. Its customers are not exclusively radical, some of the biggest and most lucrative orders have come from the embattled whites of Rhodesia.

Small Arsenal. The first sign that Greece had become a channel for the gunrunners came earlier this year, when a small arsenal was discovered in the home of a promonarchist deputy of the New Democracy Party named Hippocrates Savvouras. Savvouras, who admitted that the illegal arms were his (Greece has a strict antigun law), was kicked out of his party. Two prominent members of militant Socialist Andreas Papanastasiou's Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) were also caught in possession of five Kalashnikovs and a rocket launcher. Both were tried and received suspended sentences.

Because of the increased tempo of gunrunning, Greece has been inundated with intelligence agents descending on Athens and Salonika from Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Israel and the Arab world. The influx has made some

THE WORLD

odd bedfellows: agents who normally operate against each other, like Syrians and Israelis, now sometimes find themselves working together so that they can pinpoint a shipload of arms destined for the Palestinian-controlled ports of Sidon and Tripoli in Lebanon. Result: a high percentage of these gunrunning ships have been intercepted by the Israelis.

The arms traffic has brought unexpected financial benefits to the prostitutes of the port of Piraeus, whose lifestyle was celebrated in the movie *Never on Sunday*. In a desperate scramble for information, foreign intelligence agents are handing out large sums to the women in return for tidbits of gossip that customers may have disclosed about the gunrunning trade. "Business is very good these days," reflected one wharfside prostitute, "and it's easy. A lot of Johns are paying very well—just for talking."

SOUTH KOREA

Spooking Capitol Hill

Spread out amid landscaped lawns, pine trees and poplars on the eastern fringes of Seoul, the headquarters of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency looks more like a tranquil U.S. campus than the nerve center of what is perhaps the most overzealous, if not the most heavyhanded, secret service in the Orient. As revelations of KCIA conspiracies in the U.S. continued to unfold, what had begun as a case of relatively petty influence peddling in Washington was fast developing into a major political and diplomatic scandal.

The key figure in the affair is Tongsun Park, 41, a Washington-based South Korean entrepreneur with reputed links to the KCIA, who has admitted giving gifts of as much as \$10,000 to some Congressmen (TIME, Nov. 8). According to recent disclosures, however, KCIA spooks have been masterminding a much broader operation designed to win special commercial and political advantages for South Korea.

Any lingering doubts about the extent of the KCIA's congressional corruption have been dispelled by the reaction on Capitol Hill to three separate investigations by federal agencies. Several Congressmen have vigorously tried to head off probes into South Korean activities by the departments of State, Agriculture and Justice. An official from one of the investigating agencies told TIME that an influential legislator who was believed to have received payoffs felt so secure "he just laughed at our investigators." Thus far, about 20 Congressmen are suspected of having accepted from South Korean agents as much as \$500,000 a year in cash, gifts and campaign contributions.

Part of the huge sums used to finance KCIA operations have been obtained from about \$5 million a year in commissions believed to have been paid to

Tongsun Park by U.S. suppliers of rice to South Korea. Such payments are illegal under the federally subsidized "Food for Peace" program and are being investigated by the Agriculture Department. The KCIA has also coerced Korean businessmen into cooperating in a scheme to cheat the U.S. military procurement agency in South Korea. Bids by Korean contractors have been routinely rigged at meetings that were called "tangos." At these conclaves, the chosen bidder paid a "tango fee," which was channeled to the KCIA. Said Democratic Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin: "Collusive bidding practices, backed with strong-arm enforcement by Korean contractors is costing American taxpayers \$15 to \$25 million annually."

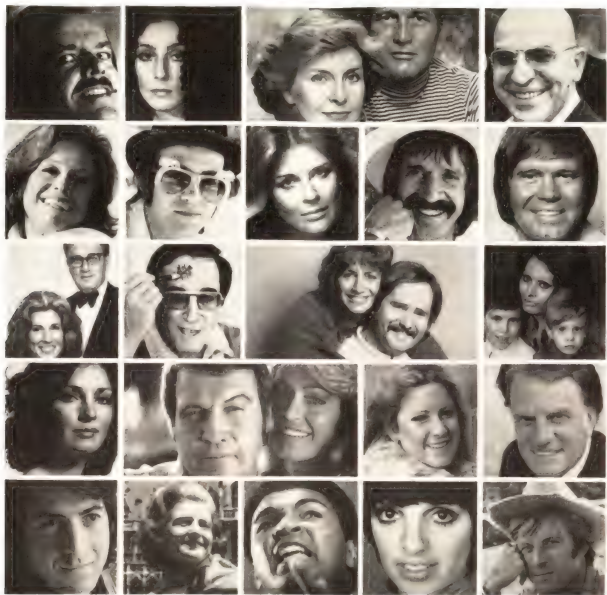
Illegal Bullying. The Department of State is investigating reports that the KCIA, which terrorizes dissidents in South Korea, has been using the same tactics in the U.S. Some 25 South Korean secret-police agents, backed by a network of enforcers, have infiltrated the large South Korean communities in Los Angeles and other cities in search of critics of the regime of South Korean President Park Chung Hee. Exiled journalists have been threatened with assassination and with reprisals against relatives in South Korea. Other dissidents have been beaten. This illegal bullying by the KCIA is proving hard to halt because the presence of foreign intelligence services is often sanctioned by the CIA.

Still, the Justice Department is expected to bring Congressmen and other officials before a federal grand jury, which could vote indictments if the case is strong enough. The most devastating witness against the bribetakers may turn out to be the chief bribe-giver himself, Tongsun Park. Completing a trip to Tokyo, Paris and London, Park is expected to return soon to Washington, where, he has declared, he will cooperate fully with federal investigators.

TONGSUN PARK IN LONDON



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HIKED-UP HEMLINES PRESENTED IN PARIS BY (LEFT TO RIGHT) PIERRE CARDIN, EMANUEL UNGARO, KARL LAGERFELD, KENZO TAKADA

Thinking Shorter

Missing. Genu (L.), an anatomical region commonly known as the knee, still extant figuratively in the kitchen, as in "housewife's _____," and in the movie house, as in Claire's _____, also still virile verbally in compounds like "_____ jerk" and "_____ deep" and in relating measurement, as in "_____ high to a grasshopper"; but generally not seen in the flesh since around 1970, when it was flouted by trend-trippers from Carnaby Street to cannery row.

The knee is missing no longer. It popped into view again at the spring ready-to-wear fashion shows in Paris as a flock of designers hiked the hemlines on at least some of their clothes. *Women's Wear Daily* promptly trumpeted the return of the mini. In fact, it is not Skirt lengths, like their wearers, will continue to come in all altitudes. Neither do the new, higher-hemmed styles resemble the thigh-flashers of the hip-hugging mini revolution. Perhaps reacting to Paris' long, sizzling summer, the designers of the new short look have genuflected toward comfort, stressing coolness, looseness, flounce.

The designer leading the way is Japanese-born Kenzo Takada, 37. In his winter collection shown last April, Kenzo, as he calls himself, experimented

with long, blousy sweaters meant to be worn over tights or leg warmers. Growing bolder this season, he has whipped up short gathered skirts topped with floral-print smocks. The motif is Tahitian-Polynesian, and Kenzo tops it off with aloha leis.

Handkerchief Points. Playfulness is the spirit for nearly all the Paris pack. Pierre Cardin's minis are hooked up at the shoulder like a toga or slide over the head, poncho fashion. His hemlines dip gracefully into handkerchief points. Emanuel Ungaro's Moroccan striped mindresses are bloused at the hips with yarn belts and designed to be worn over red or green tights. Karl Lagerfeld's silk versions for Chloé look like babydolls without the bottoms.

Fashion buyers and critics have not yet figured out what to make of it all. Geraldine Stutz, president of Manhattan's Henri Bendel, shakes her head and says "We're not ready for this." Gina Fratini, a London designer who turned out high-priced miniskirts in the '60s, concedes this time around "It's unreal. Lots of people can't wear minis." Bernard Ozer of Associated Merchandising Corp. of New York insists: "At most, it will appeal to trendy young girls going to discotheques. No woman is willing these days to convert a wardrobe from one style to another." Or get down on her knees—covered or not—to Paris.

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Now the fizz starts to whiz. Since the plane travels at 1,350 m.p.h., about 600 m.p.h. faster than the world turns below the flight, midnight will come again over the Atlantic with the passengers, as the New York packaging agent puts it delicately, "eleven miles high." Fortified with three more courses of dinner, the revelers will land in Washington (c.e.a. 9:50 p.m.) and toddle over to the French embassy for the last three courses and a final salute to 1977. "It will be a first in the history of the world," say the promoters, "ranking with Lindbergh or Earhart." All for only \$4,850. Alka-Seltzer not included.

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FROM MOUTHWASH ADS TO THE MOVIES: ACTRESS ANDREA MARCOVICCI

Back in her scuffling days she did TV ads for soap, mouthwash and men's underwear. That was before Actress **Andrea Marcovicci** went legit, of course, first with a 2½-year run as lovable Dr. Beisy Chernak in the TV soap opera *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing*, and most recently as **Woody Allen's** morally upright friend in *The Front*. For all that, Marcovicci has been singing the blues lately—as a chanteuse at Reno

HUMPHREY BIDS HIS NURSE GOODBYE



Sweeney in Manhattan. "If I stick to singing, I won't go stir crazy waiting for another movie part," she says. Are her days as a TV hucksteress long gone then? "I wouldn't mind representing a product like *Catherine Deneuve* does," muses Andrea, considering the merits of Chanel No. 5. "That's not exactly chopped liver."

His necktie sported Democratic donkeys, and his step showed some of the old kick as former Vice President **Hubert Humphrey** checked out of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan. Three and a half weeks after an operation to remove his cancerous bladder, Humphrey said goodbye to his nurse and a crowd of well-wishers, then set off for Washington, D.C., to await election results in his campaign for a fifth Senate term. "I've had enough tests to go through 44 universities," said the Minnesotan. As for his regimen as a convalescent, bubbled Hubert: "I'll be swimming and walking, and God only knows, I'll be talking."

"He'd take me to the five-and-dime and buy me a ribbon for my hair or a plastic duck to sail in the bath. I limited my life to him." So says **Meta Carpenter Wilde**, 69, recalling her 18-year romance with Novelist **William Faulkner**. From the day they met in 1935, when she was a script girl and he an impoverished, hard-drinking writer trying to earn some money in the movies, the pair

kept their passion one of Hollywood's quietest affairs. Now Meta is telling all both in November's *Los Angeles* magazine and an upcoming book titled *A Loving Gentleman*. "He wanted me whenever I was willing to go with him to his hotel room," she remembers. "Bill kept hinting that one day he would be free to marry me. He put it in his letters every so often, just to keep me going." Instead of marriage, however, he offered bawdy love poems, erotic cartoons—and heart-wrenching returns to his wife and daughter in Mississippi (Faulkner and Wife Estelle remained married from 1929 until his death 33 years later.) "The South was part of the rhythm of his life," says Meta. "He was really at his happiest raccoon or pig hunting with his cronies, the town blacksmith or the drugstore clerk."

In auditioning for the role of Amanda Prynne in the Middlebury College production of *Private Lives*, one coed had something of an edge. After all, Amanda Plummer had been named for Noël Coward's histrionic heroine 19 years earlier by Mother **Tammy Grimes** and father **Christopher Plummer**. What is more, Tammy herself had won a 1970 Tony Award in the same role on Broadway. "I had seen my mum do the part many times, and I liked the way she did it," allowed Amanda, who invited her parents to Vermont to catch her college stage debut. Stage Mother Tammy gave her offspring a predictable rave review: "She had grace, coolness and vitality. I was most proud of her."

After five husbands and a few flirtations, Actress **Elizabeth Taylor** has managed to collect a nice little box of

AUTHOR FAULKNER & SWEETHEART META



rocks. Among her favorite gems the 69.42-carat Cartier diamond, the 33.10-carat Krupp diamond and the Peregrina pearl that once belonged to Mary Tudor. Soon she will be slipping her size 7½ finger into a new bauble, courtesy of her current fiancé, **John Warner**. The ring, designed by Warner himself, features a red, white and blue motif made from a ruby, diamond and sapphire, and it has been likened to a miniature fireworks display. Chances are, the design has little to do with Liz's fiery temperament. Warner, after all, was head of the Bicentennial Administration.

"There are other things to do, and it would be rather selfish of me if I remained locked away here," says Britain's **Prince Charles**, offering some lofty motives for leaving the Royal Navy on Dec. 15 (after five years of service). Now the commanding officer of a 360-ton mine hunter named the *H.M.S. Bronington*, Charles will quit ruling the waves in six weeks to take charge of preparations for the Silver Jubilee, next year's celebration of **Queen Elizabeth's** 25th year on the throne. His leave-taking will mark the end of a not-so-bon voyage. "I have never actually been sick until I came to this ship," confesses the Prince. "She has given me some particularly nasty moments. It gives me nightmares thinking about them."

Charles de Gaulle liked to portray an image seven feet tall, the incarnation of France, flawless. But he was addicted to at least one small sin, according to former British Prime Minister **Sir Harold Wilson**. During a TV interview, Wilson recalled a visit with the French President back in the 1960s. When De Gaulle



PRINCE CHARLES CASTS AN EYE TOWARD SHORE DUTY & MOTHER'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

began talking about his country home at Colombey-les-Deux-Églises, Wilson asked him what he did there during the quiet evenings. "I knew he read westerns," said Wilson, "but in addition to that, he said he played patience [solitaire]. I asked him if he cheated if it wasn't turning out." De Gaulle's answer: "Yes, invariably."

She took a turn with former Ohio Congressman **Wayne Hays** because of his power "and because he was the sharpest dresser I ever saw," says **Liz Ray**, 33, onetime Playgirl of the Potomac. Now that Hays has been retired from power and Liz has become a Thespiian of sorts, she has discovered someone new. He is Carl Stohn Jr., 55, a producer for the playhouse in St. Charles, Ill., where Ray is appearing in *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* "I love everything about him," gushes Liz. "He's always directing me and teaching me, like *My Fair Lady*. I hope to have a long-time relationship with him and see what happens." Stohn, however, calls himself a dedicated bachelor and the reports of romance "one-sidedly true." Says he: "Actors are like children."

There's just no way to beat the devil, judging from the number of spook-and-demon movies now brewing in Hollywood. Not only will Actress **Linda Blair** soon make a spirited return in *The Exorcist II*, but Producer **Harvey Bernhard** has agreed to work on three se-

quels to *The Omen*, his picture about a devilish four-year-old named Damien. *The Omen* has pulled \$50 million into U.S. and Canadian box offices since its release, and so Bernhard plans to bring Damien back as a twelve-year-old, a young man and a Western leader who guides his people to Armageddon. "It's a natural development," says Bernhard. "Like Jesus, this guy just doesn't know how much power he has."

ACTOR HARVEY STEPHENS AS DAMIEN



CARPENTER IN A PHOTO FROM THE 1930S



Caesar or God

A gang of self-proclaimed "anti-Communists" kidnaped Brazilian Bishop Adriano Hypólito on Sept. 22, poured liquor down his throat, painted his body with red dye and dumped him, naked, on a back street in outlying Rio de Janeiro. For good measure the thugs blew up his car in front of the Brazilian hierarchy's offices.

In rural Ribeirão Bonito in the Mato Grosso on Oct. 11, another Brazilian bishop went to the police station with Jesuit Father João Bosco Penido Burnier to investigate the torture of two women prisoners. After a nasty argument a policeman shot the priest to death before the bishop's eyes.

Far from being isolated incidents, these outrages in Brazil are only the most recent in a wave of anticlerical violence that has been sweeping across Latin America. Other recent attacks on churchmen.

► In Argentina, since last March's military coup seven priests, two seminarians and three nuns have been murdered by suspected right-wing death squads with ties to the police. In addition, a bishop who was investigating the murders was killed in a suspicious automobile crash.

► In Ecuador, armed troops last August broke up an international meeting on human rights that had been organized by the Bishop of Riobamba. Herding the visiting clergy to army headquarters at gunpoint, the police expelled 15 bishops (four of them from the U.S.) and 22 priests from nine other nations for inciting "subversion."

► In Chile, when three of those ousted bishops arrived home they were assaulted at the Santiago airport by a rock-throwing mob. The attack had been

instigated by several government officials who were identified and promptly excommunicated.

The escalating war between church and state is an amazing turn for Latin America, a region with 263 million baptized Roman Catholics.* Catholicism was long content to buttress the governments and military and economic interests that were in power, hoping thereby to encourage social stability and to preserve church privileges. A new generation of church leaders, however, inspired by the teachings of the Second Vatican Council and Popes John XXIII and Paul VI, is more active in struggling against injustice and oppression. The new generation also has a compelling cause for its fast-developing political involvement: military takeovers in nation after nation have been almost invariably accompanied by severe political repression and torture.

The new era began in 1964 with the abrupt end of democracy in Brazil, the continent's largest nation. Around 1968 the Brazilian military regime grew nasty: priests were jailed and dissidents were tortured to death. Says one bishop: "The effect on the church leadership was swift and strong. It would have been impossible for us to concentrate only on pastoral work when we knew human beings were being tortured and mutilated." President Ernesto Geisel, who is a Lutheran, claims that he has ordered an end to political torture, but local police and military officials persist in the practice, as do right-wing vigilantes such as those who kidnaped Bishop Hypólito. After the murder of Father Burnier last month, a Mass was said by the Archbishop of Vitória "in memory of all those persons who in our country

*Protestants, often politically active as well, number only 15 million.

and in all of Latin America suffer violence, torture and death solely because they demand respect for their rights and dignity."

In Chile the church, led by Raul Cardinal Silva Henríquez, has been in constant conflict with the government over political imprisonment, torture and murder since the 1973 military putsch. Secret police have expelled two of the church's top civil rights lawyers, and still hold a third, though they have filed no charges against him. Two months ago, Cardinal Silva and leaders of the Chilean hierarchy issued a strong statement expressing alarm about "the fearful and all-powerful police state" that threatens to impose itself "without opposition in our Latin America." One priest noted ruefully that the theology of liberation used to mean "a man's right to participate in the running of a factory. Now it means getting him out of a concentration camp."

Not that all Catholic leaders are fighting the state. In Argentina the bishops and centrist priests have been reluctant to criticize the new military government, which is striving with great difficulty to re-establish public order. Moreover, the church's authority has been weakened by the past involvement of a group of Argentine Third World Movement priests with left-wing Peronist guerrillas.

Jesuits as Communist. The bishops of Colombia hold to a staunch conservative line. Bogotá's Aníbal Cardinal Muñoz Duque accepted the title of army brigadier general and suspended 100 priests and nuns who backed striking bank workers. Colombian priests, however, are increasingly activist: 500 of them recently sent a petition to the Vatican charging that their bishops were "allied with the exploiter against the exploited." On the radical left, Father Saturnino Sepúlveda, a leader of the Marxist-oriented Priests for Latin America, declares: "I see Jesus Christ as the secretary general of the first ever Communist Party."

Most of the activists, however, would agree with Dom Helder Câmara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife and long the lonely voice for social justice in Brazil. At his diocese's tricentennial last month he said church protest is not "born of leftist ideologies." Rather, the church has realized that "passive Christianity" aids oppression. Now, he stated, it is "the demand of God that we take firm and solid positions, without hatred but also without fear." As never before, the church in Latin America is being united by this commitment.

The Vatican, for its part, prefers to counter Latin American oppression by behind-the-scenes diplomacy. Despite some pointed protests—several from Pope Paul himself—the Vatican has yet

BRAZILIANS BEAR COFFIN AFTER FUNERAL OF PRIEST SHOT TO DEATH BY POLICEMAN



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Your eyes will tell you it's beautiful inside, nicely furnished and completely carpeted, a place you'd be proud to bring your friends.

Bring five, if you like. This is a true six-passenger car, with even more room than last year's full-size Chevs for heads and hats and hairdos. And, in the rear, more room for legs and knees and feet. Your whole body will tell you that there is plenty of room to relax, to enjoy, to feel good.

Your ears will tell you "it sure is quiet in here." Two reasons. A new one-piece acoustical ceiling, a new one-piece deep-pile carpet, both of which help trap unwanted noise.

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But while it pains us to say it, not every company does so.

Member companies of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association have some solutions for that situation:

1. You ought to know that the manufacturer of your medicine meets government standards. (That isn't always the case today.)

2. You ought to know

that the company is inspected every year. (That's not being done today.)

3. You ought to know that the Food and Drug Administration enforces its regulations on good manufacturing practices. (It doesn't have the wherewithal to do that now.)

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We make these proposals because every company ought to make products as well as most of them do.

We know the quality of drugs affects more than our industry. It affects every body.



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RELIGION

to react to the atrocities in Catholic-led nations with the level of outrage it summoned over cold war brutalities in Eastern Europe. Remarks one Vatican observer: "When the enemy was on the left it was easier to identify and denounce it."

Suspended Judgment

For weeks protesting Jewish youths and rabbis have pressured the National Council of Churches to oust Archbishop Valerian Trifa, head of the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, from its governing board. The problem: Trifa, 62, stands accused of having incited mobs that murdered hundreds of Jews in Rumania in 1941.

The matter was complicated, since

THE NEW YORK TIMES



ORTHODOX ARCHBISHOP TRIFA
Innocent until proven guilty.

the National Council cannot tell member churches who their delegates should be. Moreover, council leaders rightly feel Trifa should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. The U.S. Attorney in Detroit charged last year that in a 1957 naturalization hearing, Trifa falsely denied participating in Rumania's Nazi-ling "Iron Guard." That suit, still pending, ultimately could cost Trifa his citizenship.

At a hastily called emergency meeting in Chicago Oct. 30, the Council Executive Committee took an unprecedented step: Declaring that "we cannot allow any doubt about a complete repudiation" of the atrocities of the Nazi era, they called upon the Orthodox Church in America, parent body of Trifa's Rumanian churches, to ask Trifa to suspend his National Council activities until the federal courts, and an investigation by the Orthodox Church, settle the case.

TIME, NOVEMBER 15, 1976

De-tarred but not de-tasted.

Lower in tar than all the Lights



	tar mg/cig	nicotine mg/cig
R... h Extra Mild	14	0.9
V... y Extra Mild	14	0.9
W... n Lights	13	0.9
M... o Lights	13	0.8
K... t Milds	13	0.8
S... m Lights	12	0.9
V... e	11	0.7
M... t	9	0.7
K... t Golden Lights	5	0.7
PALL MALL Extra Mild	7	0.6

Only 7mg. tar

Of all brands, lowest... 1 mg. tar,
0.1 mg. av. per cig. by FTC method.

PALL MALL EXTRA MILD

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
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Dieting may be robbing your body of vitamins.

Most of us know that you normally get all the vitamins and other nutrients your body needs by eating a well-balanced diet every day. But, we've also learned that being overweight may be detrimental to self-esteem as well as good health. So some of us go on crash or fad diets, ignore nutritional value, and come up short on many necessary vitamins.

Fortunately, there are several ways to assure adequate vitamin intake. When you're shopping for food, read the labels, because today many vitamin-fortified and enriched foods are available. One sure

way to get enough vitamins. Buy a bottle—tablets or capsules—and make sure you take them daily. There are a number of different formulations to meet your needs, including daily multiple vitamins, B-complex, and single vitamins such as C and E.

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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

AIRCRAFT

Blue Sky for Planemakers

Eighteen years ago next month, a National Airlines plane leased from Pan American took off from New York for Miami. It was a routine flight except that the plane had no propellers. Commercial jetliner service in the U.S. had begun, and with it the inescapable problem that faces people and airplanes alike: aging. About 90 jet planes currently used by major U.S. airlines are almost as old as the commercial jet age itself. The average age of the U.S. fleet is 7.9 years; hundreds of aircraft are nine to twelve years old. To replace aging aircraft, airlines will need \$26 billion between now and 1985. To many analysts, that sum seems unattainable for an industry plagued by a long record of poor earnings and lackluster appeal on Wall Street.

Renewed Strength. But in recent months the picture has brightened somewhat, boosting spirits of airline officials and the big U.S. planemakers alike. The major carriers, which as a group lost \$250 million last year, are benefiting from more passengers and stable (though high) fuel costs. The result: they could well earn \$300 million to \$350 million this year. A number of lines are using the renewed strength to do what many of them have not done in years: buy new planes. American, Braniff and Northwest have placed orders with Boeing for 23 727-200s (value \$251 million). Eastern has ordered nine DC-9s from McDonnell Douglas. In September, United Airlines, the nation's largest air carrier, handed Boeing its biggest order from any major U.S. airline in eight years: 28 727-200s worth \$350 million, including spare parts.

United's order was particularly significant. Only last year the airline

shocked the industry by canceling plans to buy 50 planes because of the uncertain economic outlook. Its new planes, like those for the other carriers, will be replacements only and will not increase the size of United's fleet. United will trade in 28 of its old DC-8s to Boeing and will finance the purchase with existing cash plus money generated internally from earnings and depreciation. It will be getting quieter, more economic planes. Each of them, United executives estimate, will save 1,300 gallons of fuel (\$428 worth) over the old DC-8s on a single fully loaded flight from, say, Denver to Chicago.

Boeing's business is running ahead of the company's own gloomy projections. It now has 151 orders as of a year ago, most of them from domestic airlines. The Boeing 747 plant at Everett, Wash., the world's largest building in terms of capacity (200 million cubic feet), is busier now than at any time since the early 1970s when the 747 jumbo was new and the competitive rush to put it into service was at its peak. McDonnell Douglas expects to deliver 18 jumbo DC-10s next year, about the same as this year, plus nearly 40 smaller DC-9s between now and the end of 1977. Even scandal-scarred Lockheed Aircraft is doing moderately well with its jumbo TriStar. Lockheed failed to book a single TriStar order during 1975, but it sold six extended-range TriStars to British Airways last summer. It plans to deliver a dozen by 1978, adding to the 138 TriStars already in service. Those orders, plus a brisk military business, have helped brighten the outlook for Lockheed after seven bleak years.

Modest though it is, the improvement in airline profitability and orders

is important to U.S. plane builders. U.S. companies still produce about 90% of the planes used by the Western world's airlines. Boeing's 727 is the most popular plane, with 1,200 flying. But there is some worry that foreign makers will steal part of the business. They are in a good position to do just that because of demonstrated ability to design truly new aircraft (vs. derivatives of existing models) and get them into production; an example is France's A-300 Airbus. More likely, U.S. planemakers will enter into more cooperative ventures with foreign makers. McDonnell Douglas, for one, is involved with a number of European aerospace firms in working out plans for a 160-180 passenger jet with a range of about 1,700 miles.

Stalled Designs. Other American companies have designs for similar economical "minijumbos," but they have yet to get beyond the drawing board because U.S. airlines have not been able to afford them. That situation could change if the lines' profitability continues to improve. Says John Brizendine, a top executive of McDonnell Douglas, "I believe the lenders will be there in the crunch. A good year for the airlines will restore confidence."

The lines have received some thrust from tax-law changes favorable to them. Their taxes will be reduced by \$150 million during the next three years, and the industry as a whole has about \$800 million in unused tax credits from prior losses. The new tax bill signed by President Ford a few weeks ago extended some earlier tax credits, which would have expired. Even that is not much compared with needs. But the pressure is on to replace old planes, and there is no doubt where the tax windfalls will go.

A Tough Task for the Victor

The final batch of business statistics issued before the presidential election gave a clear signal: now that the campaign's last heady hurrah has faded, the victor faces a tough task in getting the laggard economy back on schedule. With few exceptions, the indicators point to continuing sluggishness in the business growth needed to create jobs, sales and profits. The most disappointing disclosure, the Government's composite index of leading indicators, which had risen for 17 consecutive months as the economy climbed out of its worst recession in decades, fell .7% in September—the second monthly drop in a row.

Government statisticians were quick to note that despite the lull, the economy is still expanding, if slowly. They note that the index was undoubtedly distorted by the four-week strike against Ford Motor Co., and also that its record as a measure of future business trends is uneven. Three times since 1948 the index fell for two months in a row but no economic downturn followed. On six other occasions, however, two or more consecutive months of decline in the index did signal an overall drop in economic activity.

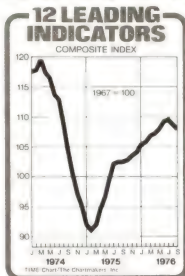
Of the eleven indicators available for the September index, the most disquieting was the layoff rate. Layoffs in the

nation's factories increased from 1.3 for each 100 workers in August to 1.5 in September. The new figures tend to confuse those (mainly Republican) economists who have argued up to now that the nation's high 7.8% jobless rate was almost exclusively a result of growth in the number of people looking for employment, rather than a consequence of

employed workers losing their jobs. Among other leading indicators, new orders dipped and manufacturers cut the average work week to 39.6 hours, from 39.9 in August. The strongest element in the index was a jump in home building permits.

The dawdling economy is troubling bankers, who have been forced to cut their prime lending rate to corporations twice in little more than a month—from 7% to 6½% and most recently to 6¼%. One reason for the drop is a slightly easier credit stand by the Federal Reserve Board. Another cause of slumping rates, bankers assert, is slack loan demand from worried businessmen. Bankers argue that lowered rates will not boost borrowing, but will cut into bank profit margins.

The new figures stirred some bipartisan worry among members of TIME's Board of Economists. Republican Murray Weidenbaum of Washington University now believes economic expansion in the final three months of the year will be relatively slow, though he expects a strong pickup next year. Democrat Otto Eckstein of Harvard foresees a fourth-quarter growth rate no higher than 3.7%, and possibly as low as 2%, vs. the third quarter's already disappointing 4%. As a result, Eckstein believes that the economy will need the stimulus of a new tax cut early in 1977.



AUTOS

Diesel Dazzle

The New York City cabbie was beaming. "It costs me about a third less to run this thing," he said. "I've already saved two hundred bucks."

His moneysaving (and -making) chariot is a Peugeot 504, powered by a diesel engine. At a list price of \$8,260, the French-made Peugeot does not ex-

actly qualify as low-priced. But the obvious economy of driving diesels is attracting more and more U.S. motorists while diesel fuel costs about the same as gasoline. From 1974 to 1975, sales of diesel cars (mostly Peugeots and West German-made Mercedes) almost doubled in the U.S., rising to nearly 25,000 vehicles. Although sales this year are down, partly because of lower imports, Detroit has taken note of the new diesel dazzle. General Motors engineers are developing a diesel Oldsmobile that is scheduled to appear in 1978.

Various Types. Diesel engines, of course, have powered trucks, locomotives and buses in the U.S. for decades. But their use in cars is a relatively recent phenomenon. Patented in the 1890s by Rudolf Diesel, a brilliant German engineer who died in 1913, the engine, in its various types, burns almost any hydrocarbon: alcohol blends, benzene, kerosene, even lightweight heating oil. Rudolf Diesel himself fueled an early experimental model with powdered coal. Another advantage: diesels do away with the gasoline engine's frequently troublesome spark ignition system. Diesel fuel is injected into the cylinders and made to explode by compression.

In Europe, where gasoline sells for as much as \$2.25 per gal. and diesel fuel is much cheaper, diesels account for 2.5% of auto sales. In the U.S., diesel-

car sales have been held back by high prices (the cheapest Mercedes diesel lists for \$10,278, not including options) and by the diesel's traditional drawbacks—low power, hard starting, loud noise and heavy weight. But auto engineers have a major incentive, besides economy, to work at overcoming these problems. Surprising though it may seem to anyone who has trailed a smoke-belching diesel truck, diesels already meet federal antipollution standards. Those standards at present apply not to the quantity of smoke but to the amount of specific pollutants in it—though if diesels start hitting the market in large numbers federal standards on smoke per se are inevitable.

The biggest stimulus to diesel sales in the U.S. could come from Volkswagen, the company that more than any other made frugal cars fashionable in the U.S. In what is being called a "second generation" of passenger-car diesels, VW claims to have solved most of the diesel's problems of weight and sluggishness. VW's first diesel, sold in Europe in the Golf model, accelerates to 50 m.p.h. in 11.5 sec. vs. 10.5 sec. for the comparable gasoline-powered version (which is known in the U.S. as the Rabbit), and has a top speed of 87 m.p.h. Price: \$4,000. VW plans to bring out a diesel Rabbit in the U.S. in 1977, when gasoline doubtless will cost even more than it does now.





NEW TOWN OF MONTE DOURADO GROWS IN REMOTE BRAZILIAN JUNGLE



PUBLICITY-SHY D.K. LUDWIG IN 1964

ENTREPRENEURS

Ludwig's Wild Amazon Kingdom

In their twilight years, some very rich men are content to devote their energies to such sedentary tasks as clipping coupons and collecting Chinese snuff bottles. Not Daniel K. Ludwig. At 79, he is a veteran of seven decades of business; he started at the age of nine by scraping together \$25 to buy a sunken boat. Now a restless recluse with a fortune worth perhaps as much as \$3 billion, Ludwig continues to expand his shipping-based business colossus into new areas. Besides his National Bulk Carriers, Inc., which with 49 vessels operates one of the world's largest tanker fleets, Ludwig's interests now include ranching in Venezuela, mining in Australia, and resort hotels in the Bahamas, Bermuda and Acapulco.

One of Ludwig's most intriguing ventures is little known outside his 34th-floor offices in Manhattan's Burlington House. In 1967 Ludwig paid \$3 million to a group of Brazilian families for a 4,650-sq.-mi. swatch of rain forest in Brazil's remote Amazon region. He then set in motion a bold plan for developing the tract, which is almost the size of the state of Connecticut, to help meet the future world shortages of food, lumber, and wood pulp for papermaking that he expects. Although the crisis has not appeared—at least not yet—Ludwig has quietly and steadily continued to develop what may be the largest private landholding in the Western Hemisphere. Ludwig himself remains inaccessible to interviewers, not to mention photographers. Nonetheless, TIME's Rio de Janeiro bureau chief Barry Hillen-

brand recently managed to tour Ludwig's Amazon empire by Jeep and bush plane. His report:

For the past nine years, under a veil of semisecrecy, Ludwig has spent more than \$200 million on his Amazon company, Jari Forest Products, and he plans to lay out another \$300 million in the next two or three years. Jari, named for the muddy, winding Amazon tributary that runs through the Ludwig property, is engaged in transforming a vast stretch of virtually unpopulated jungle into a self-contained commercial kingdom. Already it has half a dozen airstrips serviced by Jari planes, hundreds of miles of roads well traveled by a fleet of more than 500 Jari cars and trucks, and a series of towns and hamlets populated by 10,000 workers. The capital of this jungle kingdom is Monte Dourado (present pop. 3,500), a sprawling new community of attractive bungalows, town houses and apartments. A Jari-built hospital staffed by seven doctors cares for the sick, and a Jari school educates the employees' children. A giant service depot stocks nearly \$6 million worth of spare parts and equipment so that a force of 266 mechanics can keep heavy-duty machines busy building more roads, more industrial sites and ports, and even a roadbed for a 43-mile private railroad.

Jungle Crushers. Starting a timber business has involved Ludwig in a coal-to-Newcastle operation: cutting down jungle in order to plant new trees. The native forest contains far too many species of trees—more than 300 different

kinds on any given acre—for profitable lumbering. At a cost of \$250,000 each, Ludwig imported giant Caterpillar "jungle crushers," overgrown bulldozers designed to pull down the natural jungle growth. But these machines proved useless because they damaged the unexpectedly delicate Amazon topsoil. Today one of the jungle crushers stands abandoned and rusting on the outskirts of Monte Dourado. The job is now being done by work gangs using machetes and chain saws to clear the land.

No Time Wasted. The jungle crushers were not Ludwig's only costly miscalculation. In place of the native forest he planned to plant broad tracts of Gmelina, a fast-growing Asian tree that takes a mere ten years to reach the age when it can be cut for lumber and pulp. In contrast, American cottonwood, which is similar to Gmelina in quality and yield, requires at least 30 years to reach maturity. But again the Amazon proved more complex than Ludwig's experts imagined. His property contained at least two distinct types of soil, one unsuitable for Gmelina. Now about one-fourth of Ludwig's first tree forest is being planted in Caribbean pine, another fast-growing variety that can be harvested in 19 years as opposed to more than 30 years for American pine. Says one of Jari's American managers: "Mr. Ludwig doesn't want to waste time with research. He just wants to begin. Naturally we make mistakes, but we also get things done a lot faster."

Despite the mistakes—the list also includes some imported prefabricated houses that were devoured by Amazon bugs and a supposedly super dredging machine that got hopelessly mired in Amazon mud—the progress at Jari is extraordinary. So far, about 185,000 acres

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

an area more than ten times the size of Manhattan Island, have been cleared and planted with Caribbean pine and Gmelina. Viewed from the air, the new forest looks as thick and lush as the sections of old native jungle left uncultivated along the riverbanks. A wild array of undergrowth, burnt away in the initial clearing, quickly grows back among the newly planted trees.

The forest work has yet to produce a penny of earnings for Ludwig. The first lumber income will not appear on Jari's books any earlier than late 1979, after a \$275 million wood-pulp mill, now being constructed on two huge barges in Japan, has been floated up the Jari River and set down on 3,900 wooden piles. By that time, Ludwig's first quarter-million-acre forest will be fully planted, and sections of it will be ready for clear-cutting and reforestation. A second forest of the same size has already been mapped out.

But there is more to Ludwig's Brazilian venture than just trees. Jari has diked, drained, leveled, and planted in rice 5,000 acres of swampy land along the Amazon riverbanks. In September the company had its first rice harvest. On the rice project alone, Ludwig has spent more than \$20 million for the three airplanes that do the seeding and fertilizing, a fleet of 26 rice harvesters, and a drying and storage facility. By 1982 Jari will have 35,000 acres of rice under cultivation. Single crop yields are roughly the same as in Arkansas and Missouri—about 2½ tons per acre—but the Amazon produces two harvests a year instead of one.

By pure chance—or, some say, typically astute Ludwig intelligence—the Jari property also turned out to contain a rich deposit of kaolin, a clay used in making coatings for high-gloss paper. Huge earth-moving machines are now gouging the white stuff out of an enormous open pit mine and feeding it into a \$23 million processing plant that started up two months ago.

Untrue Rumors. The Brazilian government has long pursued its own plans to colonize and develop the Amazon, so far with disappointing results. In a way, Ludwig's project is the realization of this old Brazilian ambition. Yet Jari has picked up an unjustified distasteful reputation in Brazil. Because of Ludwig's passion for secrecy, untrue stories of Jari's remote location, untrue stories of slave laborers living in hovels have regularly appeared in the Brazilian press. In fact, while they are occasionally exploited by contractors, the migrant workers who make up about two-thirds of Jari's work force frequently return to the operation for another season in the forest. Some of the criticism of Jari may stem from political jealousies. Ludwig and his managers routinely bypass local officials, including the state governors, and deal only with top officials in Brasília, the national capital.

Jari officials have recently moved to

open up the project to outside visitors, especially Brazilians. But Ludwig himself determinedly maintains his cherished privacy. Unannounced, he slips in and out of Brazil on regularly scheduled commercial flights, riding tourist class.

When he is at the project, he stays in an ordinary room at a modest guest house in Monte Dourado and stomps about wearing 25-year-old gray trousers and an even more ancient pair of black dress shoes. He visits congenially with his employees and their families, talking about the future with the energy of a man half his age. Says Volker Eisenlohr, the German-born manager of the kaolin project: "When I first met him 13 years ago, he said, 'Go fast, I only have four years left.' Now he is still saying the same thing." His people, by all appearances, have taken the hint: they are still going fast.



CROWDS ENJOYING ST. JOSEPH'S DAY ON SKI SLOPES NEAR ROME LAST MARCH

ITALY

A Bridge Too Far

As many visitors to Italy have learned to their exasperation, it is often hard to find an open bank or post office there, much less close a business deal. That is because the Italians celebrate 17 official civil and religious holidays a year, more than any other Western European nation, and then take a lot of unofficial days off as well. Italy virtually ground to a halt, for instance, during the work week starting Nov. 1. First came All Saints' Day, then All Souls' Day, when employers allow workers to visit cemeteries, and finally on Nov. 4 the anniversary of Italy's victory in World War I. Celebration of the Immaculate Conception follows on Dec. 8.

Now all that is about to change. Government economists calculate that

every day off represents a loss of about \$475 million in national production. That is intolerable in an economy beset by a 17% inflation rate, about 7% unemployment and a huge balance of payments deficit. So, when he announced a new austerity program recently, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti included in it a measure to skip two civil and five religious holidays (among them: St. Joseph's Day on March 19, Republic Day on June 2, St. Peter and St. Paul Day on June 29) when they occur next year. Five of the seven days will be taken between Christmas and New Year's as a sort of national vacation—a compromise needed to win the assent of Italy's powerful labor unions and Communist Party to the revised holiday lineup.

Andreotti's real target is not the holidays themselves so much as a weekend-extending device known as *il ponte* (the

bridge). When a holiday falls on a Tuesday or Thursday, about 35% of Italy's work force routinely call in sick on Monday or Friday, using the day as a bridge to prolong the weekend to four days. This year, adept bridgers have been able to take off an extra 20 days with no loss in pay. But next year, with at most two midweek holidays on the fiesta calendar, bridging is doomed.

Papal View. Some businesses will suffer from the passing of *il ponte*, especially the travel agencies that offer popular cut-rate tours during the long weekends. But the institution that might appear to be most hurt by the new schedule—the Roman Catholic Church—is not complaining. Priests have long known that most parishioners use religious holidays to go on vacation, not to Mass. Indeed, Pope Paul VI recently called on Italians to support the austerity program, lost holy days and all.

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	175R-13	\$54⁰⁰	\$43⁰⁰	\$1.96
	165R-15	\$59⁰⁰	\$43⁶⁵	\$1.94
CUTLASS/MATADOR	SIZE	JUNE REG. PRICE	REG. PRICE	FEDERAL EXCISE TAX
	185R-14	\$62⁰⁰	\$49⁶²	\$2.35
	195R-14	\$66⁰⁰	\$52⁸²	\$2.44
	205R-14	\$71⁰⁰	\$57⁴¹	\$2.74
	215R-14	\$78⁰⁰	\$62⁷⁰	\$2.95
GALAXIE/IMPALA	SIZE	JUNE REG. PRICE	REG. PRICE	FEDERAL EXCISE TAX
	205R-15	\$75⁰⁰	\$60⁸²	\$2.90
	215R-15	\$81⁰⁰	\$64⁸³	\$3.12
BUICK/CHRYSLER	SIZE	JUNE REG. PRICE	REG. PRICE	FEDERAL EXCISE TAX
	225R-15	\$84⁰⁰	\$67⁷⁰	\$3.26

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MILITONES

Married. June Allyson, 53, pert, husky-voiced TV, stage and screen star (*The Glenn Miller Story*, *Forty Carats*), and David Ashrow, 55, a Ventura, Calif. dentist, both for the third time (Allyson's first husband was Actor Dick Powell), in Palm Springs, Calif.

Separated. Leonard Bernstein, 58, America's fecund musical superstar; and Chilean-born Felicia Montealegre, 54, now appearing on Broadway in *Poor Murderer*, after 25 years of marriage, three children. It is a trial separation; no divorce plans have been announced.

Died. T. H. (Terence Harold) Robsjohn-Gibbings, 71, elegant designer and interior decorator for such clients as Doris Duke and Aristotle Onassis, of a heart attack, in Athens, where he had lived since 1964. Robsjohn-Gibbings moved to the U.S. from his native London in the '30s and set up shop on Manhattan's East Side. To re-create the "timeless" furniture of the classic period, he spent years studying ancient Grecian art. A sprightly, caustic author, he took on the antiques business and modern art in two bestselling books: *Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale* (1945) and *Monalisa's Mustache* (1947).

Died. William J. Sparks, 71, co-inventor of butyl rubber and the holder of 145 patents, after a long illness, in Coral Gables, Fla. Joining the Standard Oil Co. (now Exxon) in 1936 as a research chemist, he soon helped develop the synthetic rubber so vital to Allied forces during World War II. Sparks often expressed his concern that young scientists be taught an obligation to society. Said he: "Science without purpose is an art without responsibility."

Died. Emiliano Augusto di Cavalcanti, 79, Brazil's premier painter following surgery, in Rio de Janeiro. Cavalcanti (known simply as "Di") rejected the military career planned for him in favor of a bohemian life. During the 1920s and '30s, he worked in Paris along with Picasso, Braque and Matisse; then returned to Brazil to paint bright, bold, cubist landscapes and sensuous mulatto women whose skin, he said, "is silk and reflects the sun."

Died. Clarence D. Chamberlin, 83, the first pilot to fly with a passenger on a nonstop transatlantic flight, just two weeks after Charles Lindbergh's historic solo trip in 1927, in Shelton, Conn. Chamberlin was prepared to make the first nonstop trip to Europe weeks before Lindbergh was ready, but legal problems kept his plane on the ground, and Lindbergh set the record. Chamberlin later worked for several aviation companies and in real estate.

"I don't want to write about my historical conclusions — it isn't my game. I tell myself that this third time out, if I stick to what I know, what happened to me, and a few others, I have a chance to write my own history of the time."

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Scoundrel Time

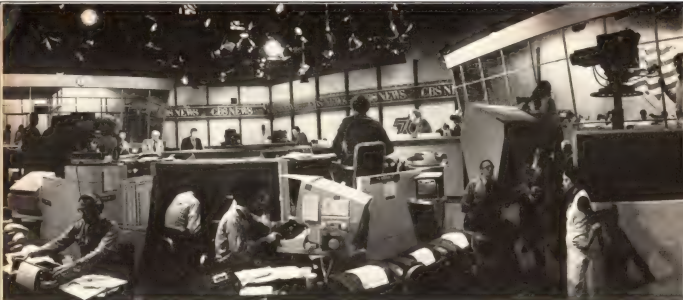
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CBS ELECTION NIGHT CREW HARD AT WORK IN THEIR FUTURISTIC HEADQUARTERS AS VOTE TOTALS POUR IN

THE PRESS

A Long Night at the Races

The Super Bowl comes but once every four years for network news divisions, and Election Night is it. To call or not to call is the question—first the states, then the presidential winner—and timing with accuracy is everything. It was precisely at 3:30 a.m. when NBC, taking a deep breath and one last look into the oracular recesses of its key precincts, declared that Jimmy Carter would capture an electoral college majority and be next President of the U.S.

NBC's pronouncement beat ABC to the verdict by seconds, CBS by 15 minutes.* "We're hypercautious," admitted Walter Cronkite. "We're always first," said a happy NBC News President Richard Wald as he munched tortilla chips at his Rockefeller Center election command post. To which William Sheehan, Wald's counterpart at ABC, replied: "I'd be satisfied to call it a tie."

Gusto Game. Whatever they called it, the networks spent the evening in furious competition, playing with gusto the game they had vowed not to engage in this outing. After ABC and NBC guessed wrong in pronouncing Morris Udall the victor of last April's Wisconsin primary (Carter came from behind during the lobster shift), officials of all three networks said they would stress accuracy over speed on Election Night. NBC, for example, forbade staff members to tell its vote analysts about any competitors' returns, for fear of hastening NBC projections. Somewhere along the way, however, caution failed to thwart competitiveness. When Sheehan learned that CBS had awarded Pennsylvania to

Carter, he phoned an ABC analyst and said, "CBS just called Pennsylvania and it looks good." CBS's early boldness eventually backfired; the network had to retract a projection of a Carter win in Oregon. Said NBC Executive Producer Gordon Manning: "The name of the game is still to call the winners."

The price of the game was higher this year: an estimated \$10 million, up from the \$9 million total the three networks spent in 1972. Much of that extra money went into elaborate new sets and gadgetry. CBS headquarters was sheathed in enough slanted Plexiglas to suggest a futuristic Dairy Queen. ABC's election-center reporters sat at semicircular desks that resembled, and were described by their occupants as, bumper cars. NBC's 336-sq.-ft. map of the country looked like a visual aid for *Hollywood Squares*: each state took on a hue (red for Carter, blue for Ford) as its winner was projected. All three networks abandoned the traditional mechanical tote boards for computerized video display screens. They were not that much of an improvement; the NBC election team was issued magnifying glasses to help them read the returns.

The estimated 110 million viewers who tuned in at one time or another during the night (up about 10% from 1972) by and large got swift and careful reporting of the returns, sharp and useful guidance about which states and areas really mattered to the outcome. But they would have needed magnifying glasses to find much in the way of deeper insight or analysis. Walter Cronkite enlightened viewers with the fact that while only .0000002% of the population are astronauts, fully 2% of the U.S. Sen-

ate are now drawn from that calling. NBC's Jack Perkins interviewed Ezra Coram, age 100, of Riverside, Calif., who said that he has chosen mostly winners during his 76-year balloting career and this year voted for Ford. CBS's incisive Bill Moyers even lapsed once, midway through a discussion of the 1876 election with Eric Sevareid. Moyers had to apologize for suggesting that the hoary-headed commentator had been around that year: "Of course, you won't recall it personally, Eric."

Green Curtain. Armchair psephologists might have expected more of the network anchors, who crammed for the event as if it were a bar exam. Walter Cronkite, who for four years had been squirreling away newspaper clippings and other relevant nuggets of information, went into semi-seclusion weeks ago. Every day he would pull a loden green curtain across the glass windows of his CBS *Evening News* office and retype his dog-eared files onto pages of a loose-leaf notebook. "I don't learn just by reading, so I rewrite everything and get it into my head," he reports. Similarly in the three weeks before E-day, NBC's John Chancellor covered four 12-in by 17-in cards with handwritten summaries of electoral and demographic facts. Chancellor's scribbles were all color-coded and organized into 51 tiny squares, one for each state and the District of Columbia. "It takes a long time," he says, "but it makes an anchor man feel comfortable to know the facts are right there."

Not that the evening was dull. After irate viewers had called NBC to complain, Chancellor apologized for noting, accurately as it happens, that Democrats are generally poorer and less well educated than Republicans. "If you're listening, Averell Harriman and Daniel

*All three networks trailed United Press International, which declared Carter the winner at exactly 2:57 a.m.

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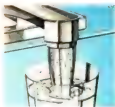
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THE PRESS

Patrick Moynihan of Harvard, I hope you'll forgive me." CBS's Dan Rather tried to brighten the proceedings with some well-honed metaphors. Assessing Gerald Ford's uncertain prospects in the Midwest, Rather declared "You can pour water on the fire and call in the dogs, because the hunt will be over."

The star of the show was the electorate, a group so narrowly divided in

its choice for President that network oracles had little time for cosmic generalizing. Recapping the fast-shifting vote totals left little air time for analysis. "Who was winning became the analysis," said NBC's Wald Voters may have yearned for more than a play-by-play, but on Election Night television when the contest is close, it matters less how a candidate won or lost than when

NEWSWATCH/TOMAS GRIFFITH

The Press as a Minefield

Whatever else can be said about this year's campaign, it is the first—let us pause a moment to celebrate—in which the bias of the press did not become an issue. That's a remarkable change from the suspiciousness and acrimony of the Nixon-Agnew days. Perhaps the low amount of partisanship in the country kept such accusations from being heard. But the press wasn't much committed to a candidate either. James M. Naughton of the New York Times quoted a fellow reporter as saying that in a poll of correspondents, "the undecided vote would be about 89%."

The more pertinent question is whether the press—in its cynicism, disdain and plague-on-both-your-houses impartiality—helped to trivialize the campaign and thus contributed to the public's turned-off mood. Looking back on many of the "issues" that dominated the headlines—ethnic purity, the *Playboy* interview, Clarence Kelley's valances, the Eastern Europe gaffe, Ford's finances—it's hard to escape the feeling that the press coverage has a lot to answer for. In the pack mentality of campaign journalism, once someone in a candidate is spotlighted—Carter's "fuzziness," Ford's fumbling—it is endlessly insisted on. In *Playboy*, Carter noted that local newsmen often asked him good questions on the issues, but the traveling press have zero interest in any issue unless it's a mistake. What they're looking for is a 47-second argument between me and another candidate or something like that. Television coverage bears him out. Charles Mohr of the Times, one of the fairest of reporters, noted that Carter didn't seem to grasp fully "that if he wishes on a given day to draw national attention to a major statement on an important issue, he cannot also make a biting or catchy gibe at President Ford or react to a presidential remark with an angry comment." This may be sound practical advice, but what does it say about serious journalism?

The answer to the triviality of press coverage turns on whether real issues were raised by the candidates and ignored by the press. It is true that there was little daily coverage of the candidates' stands on issues, but they were not very vigorously asserted by the candidates themselves. Where were the major policy speeches comparable to those by Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, or even to the sheaves of "position papers" on every subject that Nixon put out in 1968? This was a campaign dominated by admen's televised simplicities, endlessly repeated.

Both candidates came to regard the press as a minefield, best skirted when possible. Until his final travel and television blitz, the President bunkered in the White House, allowing only "photo opportunities" showing him signing bills or meeting diplomats—with reporters' questions not allowed. At his first televised press conference in eight months, the President turned almost every question into a political slogan; reporters felt used and asked needing questions.

As for Carter, once the nomination was his, he too became less available to reporters, except on the run. They also found it hard to report on a candidate who preferred to stress traits (character, leadership) rather than tangible policies. Politicians who might have had something to say, like Ted Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and John Connally, spoke only enough so that they couldn't be accused of absenteeism.

The press found its usual role of disinterested reporter usurped on two sides. On one side was the widespread parodying of news techniques in political commercials. It was deplorable, for example, to see Sportscaster Joe Garagiola serving up fungoes to Jerry Ford in imitation of a reporter asking searching questions. The working press also found itself outranked by the favors granted to guest journalists. Hoping to reach the sizable but apathetic young audience, Carter talked lengthily to *Rolling Stone*'s self-centered Hunter S. Thompson (who neglected to quote Jimmy), to Norman Mailer (Carter said a four-letter word) and to *Playboy*'s Robert Scheer, a self-styled "aggressive Berkeley radical." The delayed effects of these interviews increased Carter's wariness with the press.

All in all, the regular press did some of its best work in reporting and analyzing the volatility of the public's mood. Perhaps it overemphasized—and contributed to—the public frustration because it felt that frustration. But the tenor of the campaign for better or worse—mostly for worse—was set by the candidates themselves.

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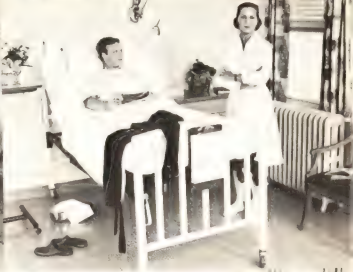
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EDUCATION



DANNY KODMUR (CENTER) AT SCHOOL IN LOS ANGELES

Into the Mainstream

Apart from busing, perhaps the most controversial public school issue of the day is "mainstreaming," the growing practice of integrating physically and mentally handicapped children into regular classes. Until the past few years, most such children, if they received any formal education at all, did so only in special classes or schools, segregated from their normal peers. In part because of the efforts of parents' organizations, all but two states now have mandatory "right to education" laws, and Congress last fall passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, authorizing funding of \$200 million this year, rising to \$3.1 billion by 1982. Besides granting every child the right to some form of public education, the new law favors integration into regular classes as soon as is feasible for all but the most severely handicapped.

The new law, warns Careth Ellingson, an authority on learning disabilities, "will change the American public school system more drastically than the 1954

Supreme Court ruling on desegregation." That is an exaggeration, and many of the changes will be slow in coming. Still, there are a staggering number of physically and emotionally handicapped, disturbed or mentally retarded children in the country, according to the U.S. Office of Education, nearly 8 million school-age children, or 12% of the six to 19 age group, can be so classified. Of this number, say USOE officials, almost half are being denied appropriate schooling.

Few would deny them some sort of training. But why should they go into regular classrooms? According to proponents of integration, 1) handicapped children can achieve more academically and socially if they are not isolated, 2) a regular school setting can help them better cope with the "real" world when they grow up, and 3) exposure to handicapped children helps normal children understand individual differences in people.

In some states, including New Jersey, Illinois and Texas, some handicapped have been going to school with normal children for years. In many schools they go to regular classes only part time; in others, specially trained teachers visit their classes daily. In Los Angeles, state funds have enabled the school district to hire 80 extra nurses, psychologists and supplemental teachers. Danny Kodmur, 11, who has cerebral palsy and had been attending a special school until last year, was elected president of the student body by his new classmates at L.A.'s Chermoya Elementary School this fall.

Flagrant Misuse. But the other children sometimes make it terribly difficult for their handicapped classmates to fit in. Such was the case in Alexandria, Va., when, after two months of taunts and loneliness at Bishop Ireton High School, hyperactive Bobby Gorman, 16, hanged himself in the basement of his home last November.

The taunting of classmates, however, is only one problem with mainstreaming as perceived by teachers—the people who have to make it work. The two powerful teachers' organizations

the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, support the new law in principle but are attempting to set a number of conditions before fully backing it. They want more special training in dealing with the handicapped as well as additional support from child psychologists and social workers. Moreover, funds have to be found in state and school district budgets to install elevators, ramps, special bathroom fixtures and playground equipment. Charlie Walker, associate director of the New Jersey Education Association, charges that some school boards "flagrantly" misuse mainstreaming "to throw handicapped kids into regular classrooms and cut back previously existing special-education services."

Contractual Limits. Teachers also want to limit the number of handicapped children placed in each class. The teachers' worry is that with class sizes rising in many systems because of budget cuts, the addition of handicapped children will add to their burden and take time away from the normal children. Already teachers' groups in Pittsburgh and Detroit have included limits on mainstreaming in their contracts.

NEA President John Ryor finds the integration of the handicapped in the nation's classrooms "as American as baseball and hot dogs." But, he warns, "vigilance must be the watchword if mainstreaming is to provide a favorable learning experience both for the handicapped and regular students and if the teachers are not to wind up as fall guys."

Looking Ahead

"A college is an institution that is dedicated to the future," declared Harry Truman. He never graduated from one himself, but he was one of the best-read Presidents in the nation's history, and he put great store by education. Thus it was deemed fitting that the nation's official memorial to its 33rd President should be a scholarship program. Its aim: to further the education of college students interested in public service.

This fall the foundation will take its first nominations from colleges and universities. One scholarship will be granted in each state, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, and one for a student from Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa or the Pacific Trust Territories. On the basis of their merit and commitment to careers in public service, 53 students who will be college juniors next fall will receive the awards. Each will be good for up to four years and will carry a maximum stipend of \$5,000 per year. Though less than the funds backing the international Fulbright scholarship program, the \$30 million that Congress has set aside for the Truman scholars should eventually pay big dividends in domestic leadership.

Zzzz

Arguing a case in the presence of Justice Marshall McComb can be an unsettling experience. "He often keeps his eyes closed, and sometimes he walks out in the middle of an argument," says one attorney. "I can't tell when the man is asleep or when he is not," says another. "He doesn't give any indication he's heard what you've said."

McComb's idiosyncratic ways are perhaps understandable, since he is 82 years old. The problem is that he is one of seven judges on the California Supreme Court. Removing a judge is difficult, removing a Supreme Court justice almost impossible. But complaints about McComb's performance have nonetheless led to the extraordinary threat (unlikely to be carried out) of his going to jail next week.

McComb, who has said privately that lights bother his eyes, has been a judge for 49 years and is apparently well enough off to retire. He may be resisting that step because he likes filing his conservative dissents to the court's generally liberal opinions. But his judicial philosophy is not why he was denounced to the state's commission for judicial qualifications by a number of so far unidentified lawyers. The charge: "Willful and persistent failure to perform his duties [and] having a disability that seriously interferes with the performance of his duties." Aside from falling asleep, say his critics, he neither actively participates with his colleagues in their weekly discussion of cases nor writes his share of the

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THE LAW

court's opinions. The accusations got a surprising public boost when Chief Justice Donald Wright was quoted as saying of McComb, "He's on the bench about five minutes or so; then he falls asleep. I used to nudge him and wake him up a little bit, but he comes to with a start and makes the whole courtroom aware of it." One of McComb's associates argues that the charges are greatly exaggerated. Says he, "The whole thing is ridiculous."

Ridiculous or not, the commission subpoenaed McComb to appear and give a deposition. The judge twice ignored the order. The whole controversy, he says, is "not interesting to me." Superior Court Judge Byron Arnold, 72, called a hearing on the matter, and McComb sent his lawyers but did not show up himself. Arnold thereupon sentenced him to prison for contempt, suspending the sentence only until Nov. 8 so that McComb can appeal.

McComb's lawyers have raised a variety of defenses, and the situation is a long way from being resolved. But there are already elements that trouble California lawyers. Says one: "To my way of thinking, if a judge doesn't show up for a contempt hearing against him and allows a contempt ruling against him, then why shouldn't any punk on the street violate the law?"

About Nonintercourse

When Wampanoag Chief Massasoit celebrated Thanksgiving in 1621 as a guest of the Plymouth Colony pilgrims, his tribe occupied an area that ran from Cape Cod north almost to Boston. Within 50 years, land-greedy colonists had forced the Indians into a corner of their territory, some 20,000 acres in an area known as Mashpee on the southwestern shore of Cape Cod. After another two centuries, the state of Massachusetts decided to turn the reservation into a township, and the Indians naively sold off their land, bit by bit. Today 500 Wampanoag are still living in Mashpee (total pop. 2,500), but new housing developments now surround the salt marshes and ponds that the Indians once raked for scallops and quahogs. Mashpee's expensive ocean-front property is dotted with signs that shout PRIVATE: KLEP OUT! Standing on a windswept bluff above a beach road blockaded by boulders, Russell Peters, 47, president of the Mashpee Wampanoag tribal council, bitterly told TIME's David Wood: "I haven't set foot on this beach for 40 years. We will get this beach back."

That beach and then some. Provided, that is, that a young lawyer named Thomas Tureen can convince the courts to accept his theory about the Nonintercourse Act of 1790. This much amended act states that "any title to Indian land obtained without federal approval is null and void." Tureen's theory is that this act invalidates many subsequent land sales throughout New England. In

Mashpee, specifically, a class-action filed in August demands the return of virtually the entire town to the Wampanoag. The suit, however, would allow householders to stay as long as they paid "fair rental value," which could amount to more than \$2 million annually. Though the suit could drag on for years, the town was stunned to learn in September that the leading Boston bond counsel, Ropes & Gray, refused to okay a \$4 million bond issue for a new school. Its reason: since Indian lands cannot be taxed, a Wampanoag legal victory could wipe out the tax base for paying off the bonds. Word spread quickly to local banks, which began shutting off mortgage loans. Says Mashpee Selectman George Benway: "Ninety-nine percent of all real estate transactions have stopped. Building funds have dried up. The whole town has stopped."

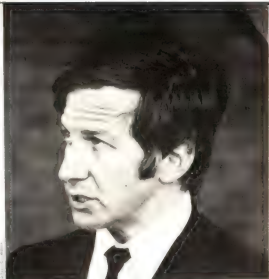
Governor Michael Dukakis has already signed legislation to rescue Mashpee for the time being by guaranteeing the town's credit, but the Wampanoag case is only the latest battle in a new Indian uprising against the white man—fought this time in the courts. It started in Maine, where Attorney Tureen, now 32, arrived from St. Louis with an interest in Indian legal problems. In 1971, with Tureen's help, the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes set out to sue the state, claiming title to 12.5 million acres—two-thirds of Maine. The esti-

mated value of the property, which the Indians had handed over to the state in a series of ancient agreements: \$25 billion. Last December a federal appeals judge ordered the reluctant Justice Department to take on their case, and he recently reminded the department to start action by Nov. 15. The state attorney general's office insists that the Indians' claim is "without merit," but the litigation has already weakened state and local bonds. Says State Treasurer Rodney Scribner: "We've been scampering around and plugging the leaks like the proverbial little Dutch boy." Adds Milinocket Town Manager Michael La Chance, who saw two of his town's \$500,000 borrowings collapse: "We're hoping someone will inject a note of common sense. Until that happens, it's an economic disaster."

Indian Offensive. Aroused by the possibilities of victory, other tribes are besieging Tureen with their demands. His eight pending suits now include the Oneida claim to 300,000 acres in New York State, the Narragansett claim to 3,200 acres in Rhode Island and the Western Pequot claim to 800 acres in Connecticut. Says Tureen, who lives in a farmhouse outside Calais, Me., but flies about New England in his own Cessna: "It's their land. Legally it's theirs, and they can have it back."

That prospect has some real estate developers in a rage, particularly in

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INDIAN ADVOCATE THOMAS TUREEN
"It's their land."

Mashpee, where the Indian offensive has hit closest to home. Others, however, have adopted a more philosophical attitude. "If the suit is successful, it is not going to make such a major difference," says local Attorney Richard Cohen. "The title of the town will change hands, and the homeowners will end up paying the same kind of 'rent' that they pay now under the name of taxes. What we'll end up with is a pretty prosaic town, run by Indians."

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Uncouples

MARRY ME

by JOHN UPDIKE

320 pages. Knopf. \$7.95.

It ain't Tarbox. The place is called Greenwood this time. And John Updike presents no magic circle of friends to be destroyed by adultery and the blight of gratified desire as he did in *Couples*. All that the author seems to have up his sleeve is a couple of pairs, one of your everyday unbalanced domestic quadrangles, in fact, Jerry loves Sally Mathias—and Ruth Conant, but is married only

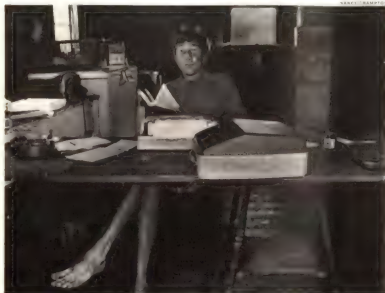
by love lyrics that come over the radio. They exchange mysterious, monosyllabic endearments. "Hey." "Hi." Jerry gives up smoking. Updike reports, "He wanted his kisses to taste clean." Cupid's darts have all but done them in.

Yet the author holds this man in curious affection, as he did Piet Hanema, the star-crossed archadulterer in *Couples*. The fact seems curious, since most of the sense in the book is given to Ruth. During the marriage she has cared well for Jerry and the children. But she has never taken seriously his asthmatic insomnia and an accompanying sense of the moment-by-moment fleetingness of

to care very much one way or another. Even so, Updike's old white writing magic has not lost its skill. He can still set a domestic scene, describe a sleeping child or evoke the sights and sounds of the marriage bed-and-bored sharply enough to bring a tear to the eye of the recording angel.

Readers in search of another adult serial may be forgiven if they switch to *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* before finding out what is really on Updike's mind in *Marry Me*. Through the evident clash between sense and sympathy, Jerry Conant emerges as one of Updike's ambiguous truth carriers. It is by no coincidence, comrades, that being with Sally symbolically cures both his insomnia and his fear of death. All of Jerry's apparent follies—the reversion to calf love, the dramatic moral posturings, the delusive passion—are meant to be regarded as signs of life, as useful gestures in the long holding action against death which everyone loses eventually.

By contrast, a sensible modern materialist like Richard, who takes love easy and regards sex as an urge that can be indulged without guilt or passion, seems only half alive. Love and life, in short, gain savor from a sense of sin and self-denial. The stricture against eating the apple and the sword in Tristram and Iseult's bed are both powerful sharpeners of appetite. This is not artistic news, though the observation is now unfashionable. That being so, whether *Marry Me* is part apologia or all fictional sermonette, one of its points could well be dismissed as the higher hedonism in a nutshell (forbidden *hiz* is always the sweetest). A pity. The book may be a brief for moral absolutism cleverly put in terms that Masters and Johnson might take to heart. **Timothy Foote**



NOVELIST JOHN UPDIKE IN HIS SUMMER HOME ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD. After a cure for insomnia, the higher hedonism in a nutshell.

to Ruth. Sally loves herself and Jerry—but is married to Richard Mathias. Richard, who sees himself as "a teacher of worldliness," once had a brief, slick affair with Ruth, etc.

The date is 1962, a year before the action of *Couples* occurred. The author has always been preoccupied by the uses of infidelity. Fifteen years ago, he would have us believe, Freudian tolerance and the Pill had not yet quite eroded the dangers and moral impediments involved in extramarital love. In any case Jerry, actively religious, thirtyish and ten years into a good marriage, is not one to take love lightly, in or out of wedlock. He wants to divorce Ruth and make an honest woman of Sally. He agonizes over his children. He revels in sweet pain and postures about the divided allegiances that plague him. He also collects looks of Sally's hair. In short, Jerry strikes the reader as a twerp of twerps. At their trysts the two revert to sheer teen-ager, '50s style. They find themselves ravished

life. "Dust to dust," she murmurs complacently and goes to sleep.

Her view of the book's crisis: "An innocent man and a greedy woman had fornicated and Ruth could not endorse the illusions that made it seem more than that. They were exaggerators, both of them." The reader agrees, and is inclined to root for Ruth who wants to save her marriage. He is also inclined to reflect on what appear to be similarities between Jerry and Updike himself that galloping insomnia, for instance. Like Updike's own recently divorced wife, Ruth is a Unitarian minister's daughter. Like Updike and his wife, Ruth and Richard once went to art school together. "Cadmium yellow danced boldly through her pearls," Updike reports. "His gift was for line."

A lady-or-the-tiger ending leaves doubt as to whether or not the unshining of this slender tale will eventually consign Jerry and Sally to each other's arms in holy matrimony. It is difficult

Uncomfortable Words

A CIVIL TONGUE

by EDWIN NEWMAN

207 pages. Bobbs-Merrill. \$8.95.

Who can save the English language from the galloping blight of jargon, pomposity, staleness, imprecision, ugliness and plain nonsense? Not authorities or institutions, writes Edwin Newman. The only hope is "individuals or small guerrilla groups" who practice "rebelliousness, buccaneering and humor."

NBC Correspondent Newman justifiably sees himself as one of those individuals. Yet his tactics lean mainly toward humor. In the battle against corrupt English, he clearly believes he serves best not as a guerrilla but as a leader of the loyal opposition, even as a court jester.

Newman's previous book on the decline of English, the bestselling *Strictly Speaking*, seemed to consist largely of



NBC's EDWIN NEWMAN

From "Ize Front" to "Paradigm Lost."

dreadfully apt examples Newman had stuffed into a desk drawer over the years. These prompted readers to send him their own favorite examples. *A Civil Tongue* appears to be written from the mailbox. It offers a plethora of mangled speech and prose, drawn not only from advertisers, politicians, sportscasters and sociologists, but also from people who should know better, such as educators and journalists (among the most cited offenders the New York Times, TIME and Newman's employer, NBC).

Late Bloomer. California Governor Jerry Brown, reports Newman, once declined a ride in a limousine by saying, apparently with a straight face, "I cannot relate to that material possessory consciousness." A Chicago *Tribune* dispatch from London describing the U.S. ambassador at the opening of Parliament explained that "his seniority admitted he and his wife to the front row." A program note for Manhattan's Lincoln Center characterized Dvorak as "a late bloomer, composition-wise."

As the guide through this gallery of horrors, Newman tries to keep everybody's spirits up with wisecracks. His chapter headings give the flavor: "A Once-Way Streetcar Named Dénégé," "Ize Front," "Paradigm Lost." But the charm of persistent jokiness begins to pall long before the tour is over.

For that matter, so do the horrors. They are too much of a bad thing. The reader soon longs for Newman to interrupt with some sustained comment and analysis. What generalizations he does provide are unexceptionable but

'In which, Newman finds, old soldiers are too often "grizzled," comments are nearly always "candid," points tend to be "successfully refuted," and things are occasionally "surrounded on all sides."

also unexceptional ("We are all safer when language is specific. It improves our chances of knowing what is going on"). In his 207 pages, there is scarcely as much intellectual substance as George Orwell offers in the 15 pages of his celebrated 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language*.

On the other hand, Newman, instinctively a popularizer, does not want to risk losing his audience (Nothing clears the room faster than a whiff of intellectual substance.) Already, he notes, he is viewed in some quarters as "cranky and pedantic." Since his cause is crucial, and the need for converts great, perhaps he is right to be content with taking a different risk: that *A Civil Tongue*, as it follows *Strictly Speaking* on the bestseller lists, will be found merely entertaining by the people it ought to sting.

Christopher Porterfield

Hue and Cry

ON BEING BLUE: A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY

by WILLIAM GASS

91 pages. David R. Godine, \$8.95.

Why are blue movies condemned by the bluenoses? How is it possible that blue skies signify happiness while the blues represent a descent into lowdown misery? Once in a blue moon seems more than often enough to raise such questions, and the philosopher who does so is obviously in the mood for a blue streak of idle speculation.

Or is it so idle after all? William Gass is not only a philosopher in the business of posing paradoxes but a writer (*Omensetter's Luck*, *In the Heart of the Heart of the Country*) to whom words matter. Blue, for instance, Gass notes that "a random set of meanings has softly gathered around the word the way lint collects." Gass would like to know why, and he is writer enough to make his inquiry far more entertaining than just another academic trip through the wild blue yonder.

Not since Herman Melville pondered the whiteness of Moby Dick has a region of the spectrum been subjected to such eclectic scrutiny. Gass hoards azure words and holds them up to the light. "Blue poplar. Blue palm. The blue lily is a healing plant. Blue john is skim milk. Blue backs are Confederate bills. Blue bellies are yankee boys." He squints at past authorities on physics (Democritus, Aristotle, Galen), the better to glimpse the essence of this protean color in the corner of an eye. The mystery remains, more mysterious because Gass so thoroughly exposes its complexities. Yet the humanist does not visit nature for facts but for creative suggestions, and these Gass offers in abundance: "Blue is the color of the mind in borrow of the body; it is the color consciousness becomes when caressed."

The erotic overtones of this surmise tinge Gass's entire argument. For he is not finally interested in pinning "blue-

ness" to the wall, but in suggesting what is truly "blue" in the realm of art. Not, he insists, the vivid depiction of sexual activity. Literature can convey only a mechanical imitation of the real thing—and offer a skewed reality to boot. "I should like to suggest that at least on the face of it, a stroke by stroke story of a copulation is exactly as absurd as a chew by chew account of the consumption of a chicken's wing." Instead of their lovers, Gass wants writers to caress their language. "It's not the word made flesh we want in writing, in poetry and fiction but the flesh made word." In Gass's view, the truly "blue" writers are not those who flaunt explicitness but those whose works demonstrate "love lavished on speech of any kind, regardless of content and intention."

This is a polemic, although the author does not alert the reader to the argument on the other side. His approach leads to a hermetic absorption with words as objects rather than signs pointing outward—precisely the premise that makes so much "experimental" writing so ghostly and unreadable. Gass also passes off a tautology as profundity: "I am firmly of the opinion that people who can't speak have nothing to say." This is both true and too cute by half; it narrows human awareness to the single focus of language, denies the very variety of living that words can celebrate.

Yet by his own definition Gass has produced a very blue book, both in the sinuous beauty of its language and in the passion for argument his words radiate. He gives philosophy back its old good name as a feast that can never sate the mind. He also has the common sense not to run on until he is blue in the face.

Paul Gray

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1—Sleeping Murder, Christie (1 last week)
- 2—Trinity, Uris (2)
- 3—Slapstick, Vonnegut (6)
- 4—Steven Waring, Higgins (3)
- 5—Dolores, Susann (5)
- 6—Touch Not the Cat, Stewart (4)
- 7—Ordinary People, Guest (7)
- 8—Blue Skies, No Candy, Greene (8)
- 9—Cremation of the Innocent, Caldwell
- 10—Wednesday the Rabbi Got Wet, Kamelman (9)

NONFICTION

- 1—Passages, Sheehy (1)
- 2—Roots, Haley (2)
- 3—The Right and the Power, Javorski (4)
- 4—Your Erroneous Zones, Dyer (3)
- 5—Adolf Hitler, Toland (5)
- 6—The Grass Is Always Greener Over the Septic Tank, Bombeck (6)
- 7—Blind Ambition, Dean
- 8—Blood and Money, Thompson (7)
- 9—The Final Days, Woodward & Bernstein (9)
- 10—Fire and Ice, Tobias (10)

Italian Stallion

How's this for a plot: a street-wise Italian kid, who thinks of himself as "an intellectual caveman," grows up dreaming about being a tough fighter, a writer and a famous actor. He stumbles from job to job, then weaves his daydreams together: he writes a boxing movie, stars in it himself, and—even before the film is released—Hollywood hails him as the next Mitchum, Brando and Pacino rolled into one.

The plot is coming true for Sylvester ("Sly") Stallone, 30, a brash, genial bit-actor who wrote the script *Rocky* in three days, and held out against the producers, James Caan and Burt Reynolds, to star in it himself. Jaded preview audiences are giving it ovations, and much of Hollywood is assuming that star and movie will be up for Oscars next year. "I can't recall such excitement about a new movie and a new star since maybe *Giant* and James Dean," gloats United Artists Boss Mike Medavoy. Says TV's Norman Lear: "That movie sent me through the ceiling."

Rocky is a slum fairy tale, its plot simple even by Hollywood standards. A broken-down neighborhood fighter, who boxes, "because I can't sing or dance," is picked as a last-minute replacement to fight the heavyweight champion of the world, mainly because the champ sees the promotional possibilities of the hero's moniker: "the Italian Stallion." The hero produces a rousing fight and, of course, finds love. The movie is funny, unpretentious and relentlessly upbeat, sort of what *Mean Streets* would have been if Frank Capra had made it. Its only message—endure, reach your potential, be a man—is enough to give machismo a good name.

Eating Grass. Stallone is doing all he can for the new machismo. He has a will that seems more than a match for Hollywood. Producer Irwin Winkler (*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*) says: "I still can't believe I did it. I mortgaged my house to put up the \$50,000 completion bond for *Rocky*." Winkler and Coproducer Robert Chartoff were stunned when Stallone insisted on playing the title role himself—and got his way, although he had \$104 in the bank at the time. He remembers telling his wife Sasha: "If you don't mind going out in the backyard and eating grass, I'd rather burn this script than sell it to another actor. She agreed." United Artists put up a modest \$1 million for *Rocky*, and Director John Avildsen (*Save the Tiger*) shot the film in a brisk 28 days.

Though Stallone is no boxer, the film is clearly autobiographical. "Rocky is me," he says, "but he's more gallant and simple than I am." Like his hero, Stallone is a raffish charmer and hustler. He used to be an usher at a Walter

Reade theater in Manhattan, but was fired for trying to scalp a ticket for \$20 to a customer who turned out to be Walter Reade. Later he lived on bootlegged Walter Reade passes, which he made Xerox copies of and sold to students.

Born to a volatile Italian couple in Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen, Stallone grew up in Monkey Hollow, Md., where his mother ran a beauty parlor. He attended twelve schools by the time he was 15, and was thrown out of most of them. "I was into J.D.," says Stallone. "If I saw a housefly on the hood of a car, I'd stamp him out with an iron pipe. A very nice kid."

Seeing Paris. When he was 15 Stallone and his mother moved to Philadelphia, the setting of *Rocky*. Soon bored with street-gamy life there, he took off for Europe and landed a job as a bouncer in the girls' dorm of The American School of Switzerland. "It was fox-in-the-hen-house time," says Stallone with a grin. The highlight of his bouncer career came when he chaperoned a group of girls on a visit to Paris, boarded them in a cheap pension and pocketed most of the ample hotel money. "What the hell," he says. "They saw the real Paris that way."

Stallone spent the past six years in New York and Los Angeles looking for acting jobs and trying to write. In addition to working the Walter Reade theater, he sold a few scripts and landed his only lead role (along with Da Fon, Henry Winkler) in the 1974 low-budget turkey *The Lords of Flatbush*.

Now he is flushed by his rise "from roaches to riches." He has 10% of *Rocky*, which U.A. hopes will gross more than \$40 million and a five-picture contract with the studio. He is holding out for a seven-figure deal on his next project, a "great romantic gothic" movie about Edgar Allan Poe. He also wants to star in the upcoming version of *Superman*. But Marlon Brando, who will play Superman's father, has veto rights on casting. Says Sly: "I hope he doesn't think I do a cheap imitation of him in the love scene with the undershirt. Italians do wear undershirts."

On-screen, Stallone radiates more boyish bravado than Brando's brooding rage. Says Co-star Talia Shire, sister of Francis Ford Coppola: "Francis was an innocent when he first succeeded and so is Sly." Innocent or not, Stallone is probably onto the right screen image at the right time. Boggled by grim, paranoid plots like *Marathon Man* and savage heroes like the *Taxi Driver*, audiences may be ready to buy his gentler, uncomplicated machismo. Stallone is sure of it. At a private screening of *Rocky* for his mother last week he leaped onstage during the first reel and shouted, "Hey, Ma, I made it. I made it, Ma." Ma nodded and wiped away a tear.



STALLONE: MUSCLE & MUSTLE



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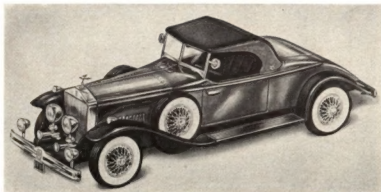


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Jumping Jamboree

Stevie Wonder's new Motown album, *Songs in the Key of Life*, took 26 months to produce. Last year Wonder took time out to sign the fattest contract in pop history (seven years and \$13 million). The most eagerly awaited item of the year, *Songs* landed in the No. 1 position its first week on the charts. With sales already totaling a phenomenal 1.7 million, the album could well earn Motown most of its \$13 million back before year's end.

The two LPs contain 17 songs, with an overflow 7-in. disc holding four more. As usual, Stevie operates as a virtual one-man music company. Throughout the album, he acts as composer, singer, instrumentalist and producer. Despite his multiple involvement, *Songs* has all the spontaneity and relaxation of a jumping jamboree. Indeed, there has not been a pop album this good or this diversified since Wonder's *Fulfillingness's First Finale* in 1974. Stevie growls at times like an old delta blues shouter, but for the most part he sings in his distinctive black/white style, which occasionally echoes Paul McCartney or Ray Charles. The broad range of musical styles is equally absorbing: those Beatlesque strings in the austere *Village Ghetto Land*, the swinging blues underpinnings of *Black Man*, the Latin glee of *Another Star*. As Stevie puts it in his Ellingtonian tribute *Sir Duke*, "Music is a world within itself/With a language we all understand." Stevie's many fans would undoubtedly agree.



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